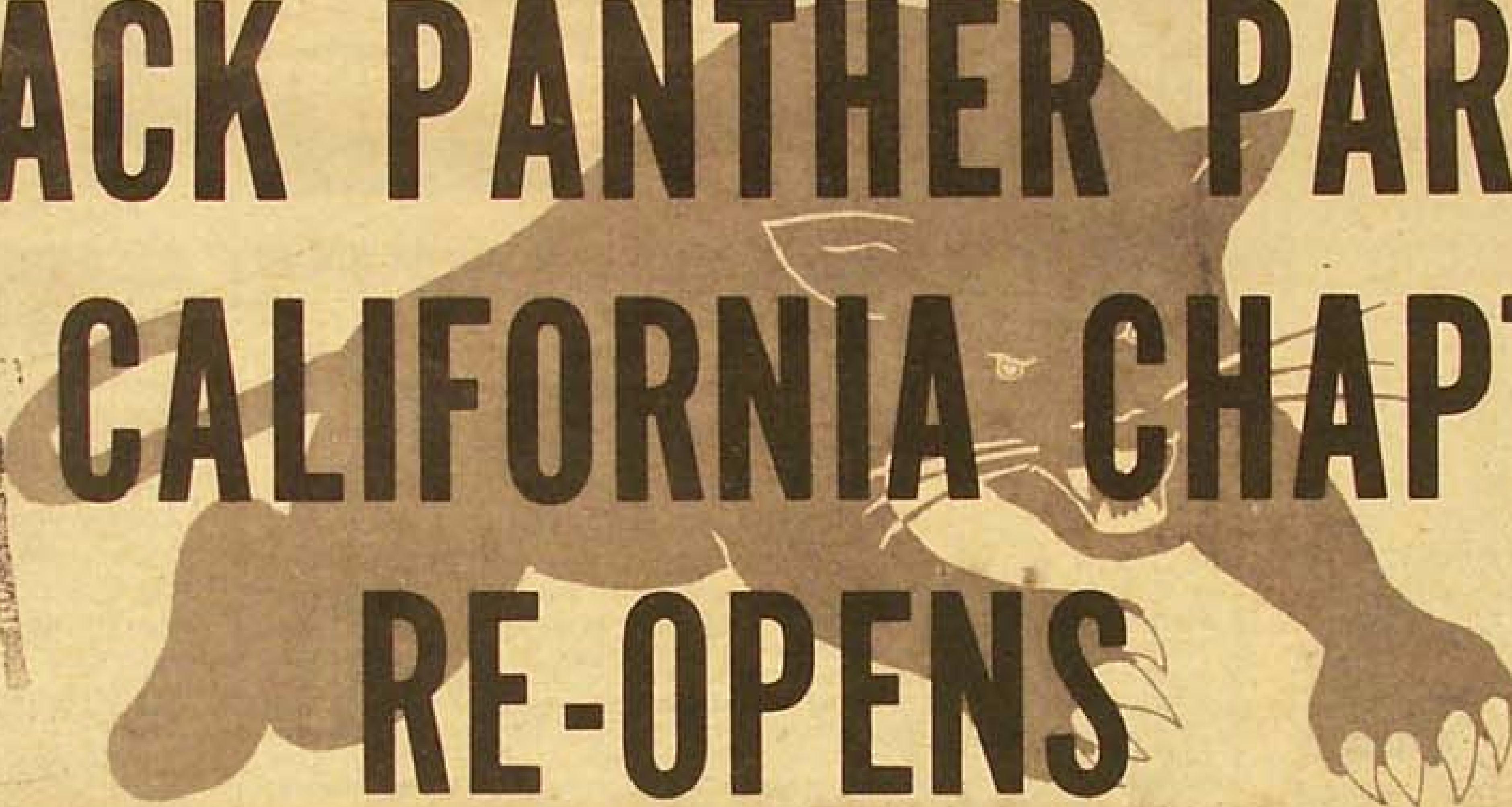
THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

VOL. XVI. NO. 11 SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1977 25¢



Speeches, Free Groceries, Films Highlight Day-Long Activities

BLACK PANTHER PARTY SO. CALIFORNIA CHAPTER RE-OPENS





BPINS photos

ELAINE BROWN (left) and ERICKA HUGGINS (right) were the featured speakers in the ceremonies held on Monday in Los Angeles to highlight the re-opening of the Southern California BPP Chapter, which will be coordinated by longtime activist BOB DUREN (in back, second photo from left).

(Los Angeles, Calif.) — January 17, 1977, marked the re-opening of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, with an all-day schedule of events highlighted by speeches from Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, Oakland Community School Director Ericka Huggins, also a leading Party member, and the distribution of 500 free bags of groceries at the Party's new South Central Avenue headquarters.

Eight years earlier on this very day, January 17, 1969, the Southern California Chapter's founder/coordinator Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, and John Huggins, one of the Chapter's first members and Ericka's husband, were assassinated on the UCLA campus by cowardly reactionaries from the Ron Karenga-led US organization, part of the infamous FBI COINTELPRO plot to destroy the then fledgling Black Panther Party.

January 17 was a very special day for many of the participants in the re-opening, a day heavily laden with deep meaning, when the past, present and future of the liberation struggle in America came together; a day when History could occasionally slow down, speed up, stand still, become a vehicle that the heart's memories could ride on the winds of change, of a struggle one ultimately realized could, indeed, be harnessed, but only with the most supreme sacrifices, in the people's

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION
8501 E. 14TH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIF. 94621

Editorial

BULLSEYE

Gary Mark Gilmore, over the course of 36 years bled of his will to live and finally, literally, of life itself, was executed by the State early last Monday morning, in a cold and shadowy prison warehouse — strapped to a chair, a black hood over his head, a target pinned to his chest, the bullseye placed directly over his heart.

Contrary to early media reports, Gilmore was not immediately slain by the four .30 caliber bullets five $175-an-hour marksmen ripped through his chest, living for slightly more than two minutes after the final assault on his life, bleeding to death without the offer of aid.

Many feel that now, once America has tasted blood, the next merciless onslaught on the lives of, particularly Black, Death Row victims, will be terribly swift — evidence of this country's fondness for executing Blacks being both real and irrefutable.

It was a telling sign for America in the 1970s that a morbid spectacle was created around Gilmore's perverted death wish — ironically, masking an intense fear for life by a pretended fearlessness for death. "I just want to look them fuckers in the eye when they shoot me," he said, as if his refusal to don the execution hood "proved" something.

Other victims of Americanism are said to have thought of Gilmore as a folk hero, and perhaps he was to those so stripped of meaningful options that believing in nothing is the only choice. "...I admire you so very much...You're so manly, very masculine, sexy, seductive, very appealing...Good luck in the other world," one young woman wrote.

What "dignity" is there in bleeding to death with a bullseye pinned to your chest, dying slowly in a makeshift "execution room"?

And if the State had no death penalty, if the State did not offer out to the Gary Mark Gilmores of America the chance to end their lonely alienation by the singular bizarre spectacle of capital punishment — the macabre choice to be noticed, and therefore, in twisted minds, defined as a human being, only through a markman's sights, the vomit of the gas chamber, the erection of the hangman's nose, the smell of fried flesh in the electric chair — would he/they have killed at all?



"AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS? WHY, YES, THAT'S THE HIGHLY DESIRABLE, VERY IMPORTANT SEAT IN THE BACK O' THE BUS, ANDY."

Letters to the Editor

LIKES THE BLACK PANTHER

Dear Editor:

I'd like to make a few comments concerning THE BLACK PANTHER paper. I've been reading THE BLACK PANTHER paper for almost a year now. As a matter of opinion I think it should be spoken upon; all of the substantive knowledge that's displayed to its readers. I find it to be beneficial in a number of ways: THE BLACK PANTHER paper projects wisdom, knowledge and understanding. Brother Roland Malone, #135475, and myself both have given our best efforts in encouraging other brothers here to read THE BLACK PANTHER paper. For those in search of what's going on with Black people, read THE BLACK PANTHER paper weekly.

As ever,
Comrade Ellis McCloud #124517
P.O. Box 779
Marquette, Michigan 49855

SUPPORT BROTHERS AT INDIANA STATE PRISON

To: The Editor

This is an open letter seeking support for three brothers who were placed in segregation for killing a White supervisor here at Indiana State prison, 12-29-76. The whole case is based on supposition, and the state is now preparing the railroad.

Before the railroading starts, I think certain things should be made very clear. First of all, it shouldn't come as to much of a surprise that a White supervisor was killed! Considering. . .Let me explain it this way. An average of 16,000 men are being held hostage—under the everyday stress of just being here. The environment is atrocious, with deplorable conditions. Under these circumstances, three Black men regardless of innocence/guilt may die in the electric chair! Why? Could it be racial prejudices? Could it be that things are no different than they were in the past when it was considered routine for a Black to be railroaded to prison, or to his/her death? In the past it started with the lynching, then gas chambers and electric chairs. All designed to do one thing, to suppress any type of opposition that doesn't correspond with the status quo to, in short, kill. What progress has there been made in this area? Men/women across the country are being railroaded out of their lives.

There is a struggle within the confines of this prison to survive. Not only for our own lives, but for the lives of those surrounding us! As of now, 1/4/77, none of the bro's have been legally charged—while laying in our little caves, smelling our own filth, trying to keep warm and swallowing the two little ice cold meals a day. We wonder, will we be the next ones, pulled out at 11:30 at night, maybe never to return? Or will we be the next ones to be railroaded to our deaths?

This is a reality that could involve you or some of your loved ones. This inhuman element never dies out with time, but only exists, as time goes on. We should raise our standards, instead of becoming stagnated with trying to be individualist. You sitting at home, can't be too sure about your own futures. You could become a victim of someone's behavior, created by the irregular social and economical patterns/policies, which people are subjected to. . .What I'm seeking at this time is your interest, no matter how small you may think it is. Writing letters, talking to people or giving advice, whatever! It's all needed very much. Please contact Joseph Cordell #6459, Box 41, Michigan City, Indiana 46360. In short, your support is required in order that these three Black men can avoid being swallowed up by this sadistic and racist system.

In Solidarity,
"Umi"
s/n Thomas Lively #6807
Michigan City, Indiana

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

COMMENT

L.A.P.D.'s Davis "Lone Ranger Of Loose Rhetoric"

The following article, an editorial reprinted from the San Francisco Sun Reporter, *bluntly dismisses the political aspirations of Los Angeles right-wing police chief Ed Davis as the rantings of a "big mouth fool."*

Every so often the people of California become the victim of some Johnny-come-lately do-nothing, generally a small-time reactionary with big ambitions and a bigger mouth, who decides that the way to solve some of the complex problems of state is to tout himself as a candidate for high office, recklessly attacking anyone in sight, including those who may be trying to get some serious work done.

The success of such men as Richard Nixon, George Murphy, Ronald Reagan, and S.I. Hayakawa, who pioneered the route, has now put forth another scion of the lunatic fringe — L.A.'s meathead police chief, Ed Davis. This Fearless Fosdick of flippant phraseology has imposed himself upon the public for years, blasting away at every sensible suggestion that comes his way, opposing reforms in the criminal code, and dreaming up obstacles to progressive legislation. Yet he must have finally concluded that his position as Los Angeles chief of police is too limited a plaftform for his garrulous gift of gab. Now this Lone Ranger of loose rhetoric wants to be our next governor.

Suddenly his tongue-lashings have a purpose. He's no longer just a complainer. Now he has a mission: to convince Californians that all of his verbal diarrhea during past years was really a serious attempt to warn us that we were on the skids morally and in dire jeopardy as a civilization. Fools that we are, we refused to listen. But all is not lost. The white knight himself will try to save us; all we have to do is elect him governor and hide our heads in the sand while he pushes through a bunch of repressive "law and order" measures, and all will be well.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

THE BLACK PANTHER
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621, TELEPHONE: (415) 638-0195.
YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $10.00
SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA



Fallen Comrade FRED HAMPTON.

Attorneys Charge Judicial "Prejudice" In Fred Hampton Murder Trial

(Chicago, Ill.) — An attorney for the plaintiffs in the Fred Hampton murder trial has filed an appeal in U.S. District Court here on a contempt charge given him by the presiding trial judge, charging that the appeal should be removed from the judge's jurisdiction because of his "pervasive and unremitting prejudice" against the plaintiffs and their attorneys.

The motion on the appeal, filed by attorney G. Flint Taylor, states that the prejudice of U.S. District Court Judge Samuel Joseph Perry has been "in active operation throughout the course of the trial." Taylor is an attorney for the families of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and seven former Black Panther Party members in the $47.7 million damage suit against 28 present and former law enforcement officials and FBI agent and provocateur William O'Neal for the December 4, 1969, predawn raid in which the two Illinois BPP members were assassinated.

Noting the "intense struggle" the plaintiffs waged in order to get Perry to allow cartloads of FBI documents and files regarding the Bureau's illegal surveillance and other activities against Fred Hampton and the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party to be introduced as evidence in the trial, Taylor's motion states:

"We say the deepest and most important level of the District Court's prejudice in this case is his (Perry's) active desire for the defeat of plaintiffs' claims of conspiracy, official wrongdoing and cover-up, and legitimated murder; particularly as they concern the FBI. Such desire,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

PROBATION DEPARTMENT RESPONDS TO ERICKA HUGGINS' CHARGES

JUVENILE JUSTICE COMMISSION TO PROBE YOUTH DETENTION CENTERS

(San Leandro, Calif.) — The Alameda County Juvenile Justice Commission agreed last week to investigate charges made by county Board of Education member Ericka Huggins that the youth incarcerated in the county's six juvenile detention centers here are victims of illegal and inhumane treatment.

The decision of the Commission was the result of Ericka's appearance at its regular monthly meeting held January 12 on the grounds of the juvenile detention complex at 2500 Fairmont Drive here. At this meeting, a written report prepared by chief county probation officer James E. Callahan was presented in response to the charges made by Ericka at the unprecedented press conference she held last November 15 at Juvenile Hall.

Opening up Juvenile Hall to its first public scrutiny in years, Ericka, at the November press conference, demanded that the Alameda County Grand Jury and others concerned initiate an immediate and thorough investigation of abuses within the youth detention centers. In particular, she lashed out at the "rigid and inhumane way" detained, often nondelinquent youth are "treated like criminals." (See THE BLACK PANTHER, November 20, 1976.)

Callahan's report divided the charges Ericka made into 10 points. Upon invitation of the Juvenile Justice Commission, Ericka, firmly denying Callahan's charge that her "...allegations... are without foundation and highly inaccurate," discussed the report and elaborated on her own concerns regarding treatment of youth at the juvenile detention centers:



ERICKA HUGGINS (right) as she attended the monthly meeting of the Alameda County Juvenile Justice Commission.



In violation of state law, children under the age of nine are detained at Fairmont Drive. While the county Probation Department's report alleged that it is not illegal to detain children under the age of nine, Ericka said that she had been told by a former member of the California Juvenile Justice Commission that such detention is illegal.

Ericka expressed her concern at seeing children as young as seven years old held at Juvenile Hall with older youth, noting that "sophistication comes with age." Using an example, she said that a nine-year-old, incarcerated for robbing a store, who is housed with older youth who might approve of such an action, could conceivably commit another robbery upon leaving Juvenile Hall. "The road seems to end in the (person's) mid-20s, at some place like San Quentin," Ericka added.

She also said that in her position as director of the model elementary level Oakland Community School, she has talked with a number of youth who have been detained at Juvenile Hall and have seen children there under nine years of age.

Dale Anders, the only Black member of the Juvenile Justice Commission, joined Ericka in expressing concern over the co-mingling of younger children with older ones. He called on the Commission to investigate the matter.

The male youth held at the intake facility in downtown Oakland are often detained for over 72 hours, a violation of the provisions of the California Youth Authority. The Callahan report maintained that "time limits are strictly adhered to" in terms of handling the cases of individual youth. However, Ericka repeated the statement she made at the press conference that when she visited the intake facility at 400 Broadway, the first youth she talked to told her he had been there for five days.

No educational experiences are offered at 400 Broadway. The Probation Department report stated that no classes are held at the intake facility because of the short period of time the youth remain there. Ericka informed the Commission that watching television and playing cards and dominoes are the only means of passing time that the youth at 400 Broadway have. She added:

"...When people have something to do, when there are some recreational, educational facilities, they feel better about what is going on...One of the mainstays of corrections...that is not in the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



ERICKA HUGGINS talks to youth confined to Juvenile Hall in the Alameda County youth detention center complex.

THIRD WORLD COMMUNITY LEADS STRUGGLE TO OVERTURN BAKKE DECISION

STATEWIDE MOVEMENT ORGANIZED TO FIGHT FOR MINORITY ADMISSIONS

(Berkeley, Calif.) - Nearly 1,200 people gathered at the University of California here last Saturday to organize a unified, statewide movement to overturn the Bakke decision — the infamous ruling by the state supreme court that may eliminate minority college admissions programs and other affirmative action programs in the entire country if upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The conference, sponsored by the Bay Area Coalition Against the Bakke decision, agreed to hold a statewide demonstration, tentatively scheduled for February 25, with regional protests set for later in the spring.

On September 16, 1976, the California Supreme Court ruled that the special admissions programs for graduate students in the University of California (U.C.) system are un-Constitutional and amount to "reverse discrimination" against Whites. The ruling was the result of a lawsuit filed in 1974 by Allan Bakke. Bakke, who is White, charged that he was the victim of reverse discrimination following the refusal of the U.C. Medical School at Davis to admit him as a student in 1973 and 1974. In its racist decision, the state supreme court said:

"The admission programs, as administered by the university, violate the rights of non-minority applicants, because it affords preference on the basis of race to persons, who, by the university's own standards, are not as qualified as non-minority applicants denied admission."





BPINS photos

Bay Area Coalition chairperson KARA OBRADOVIC addresses members of statewide movement aimed at overturning the far-reaching Bakke decision.



U.C. attorneys filed a petition on December 14 asking the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the Bakke decision, maintaining that the special admissions program is necessary for minorities to gain admission to the school. In their briefs to the high court, Bakke's attorneys, Reynold H. Colvin and Robert D. Links, allege that the special admissions program is merely a "racial quota."

Speakers and participants at last weekend's conference — which was attended by undergraduate and graduate students, faculty members and others in the field of education as well as community people representing Third World and progressive White groups from all over the state — emphasized that the traditional racism of the Univerity of California's admissions tests is the very reason that Black, Chicano and other minority students demanded special minority admissions programs in the late 1960s.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10









Bay Area Honors Dr. King

(Oakland, Calif.) — One of several Bay Area tributes to the life and achievements of the great Black leader Dr. Martin Luther King was held last Friday evening at Allen Temple Baptist Church here. The over 300 East Oaklanders who came out to memorialize Dr. King at the special evening service heard speeches by Rev. J.L. RICHARDS, pastor of Evergreen Baptist Church and president of the Baptist Ministers Union; Rev. Michael Dunn and attorney Howard Moore. Musical selections were presented by ELAINE BROWN, chairperson of the Black Panther Party, and Sister Verlin Sandles.

BPINS photos

This Week In Black History

January 13, 1970

On January 13, 1970, three Black inmates, Cleveland Edwards, Alvin Miller and W.L. Nolen, were murdered in a planned ambush executed by Soledad (California) Prison guards. Within minutes after these murders were ruled "justifiable homicide," a prison guard was killed in retaliation. This led to the indictment of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson and two other "Soledad Brothers" on murder charges. Eventually the Soledad Brothers were transferred to the San Quentin Adjustment Center where Comrade George Jackson was murdered by guards.

January 22, 1971

Black congressmen boycotted the State of the Union message on January 22, 1971, because of then President Nixon's consistent refusal to hear the demands and concerns of Black Americans.



JAMES (Jimmy) ESSEX

January 7, 1973

Mark James (Jimmy) Essex, a young Black ex-serviceman, delivered his "Message From A Rooftop" on January 7, 1973, as he held off 700 policemen for 28 hours, perched in a bunker on top of the Howard Johnson Hotel in downtown New Orleans. During the raging gun battle three police were slain. Essex had terrified the police so thoroughly that they continued firing for 17 hours after they had killed the heroic, young Black man.

January 8, 1976

On January 8, 1976, Wesley Robert Wells, a pioneer in the prison movement who had spent 47 years of his life behind bars, died of a heart attack at the age of 66.

CARTER CABINET PICKS EXPOSE THEMSELVES AT CONFIRMATION HEARINGS



Carter Cabinet appointees.

(Washington, D.C.) — The past two weeks of hearings before a variety of Senate confirmation committees and press conferences have revealed several disquieting and disturbing aspects of President-elect Jimmy Carter and his Cabinet appointments, among them:

•Testimony by Secretary of Labor-designate Roy Marshall that Carter's much-ballyhooed $30 billion "economic stimulus package" is weighed too heavily toward tax relief at the expense of needed jobs;

•Affidavits and memorandums submitted by both NAACP officials and the Congressional Black Caucus which detail Attorney General-designate Griffin Bell's complicity in organizing "massive resistance" to desegregation efforts in Georgia in the late 1950s;

•Andrew Young, Carter's choice for chief U.S. representative at the United Nations, said he "wouldn't have any problem" in vetoing a resolution ousting racist South Africa from the world body;

•The secretary-designate for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Joseph Califano, said he opposes the use of federal funds for abortions;

•Just one day before Bert Lance was named by Carter to head the Office of Management and Budget, the U.S. attorney in Atlanta decided to end an investigation into possible campaign law violations by Lance and the bank he controls.

Despite these revelations, however, Carter's Cabinet picks had an easy time with their Senate probers, the only casuality being the sudden withdrawal of Theodore Sorensen for the CIA post—the victim of what many believe was the residue of resentment and hatred lingering from the Kennedy administration when Sorensen was a top aide during a reshuffling of the spy agency following the Bay of Pigs.

Actually, Pat Harris, Carter's only Black appointee (for Housing and Urban Development), endured the only tough questioning last week, as several senators on the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee raised barbed points concerning both her commitment to poor people and her expertise in administrative matters.

"You are not of, by and for the people," Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire said to Ms. Harris. "Will you really make an effort to get the views of the less articulate, the less represented?"

Ms. Harris responded by retelling her personal history — "I am a Black woman, the daughter of a dining car worker" — adding, "I know creeping blight firsthand, not as a do-gooder, but as a visitor to personal friends and acquaintances."

Concerning Bell, the 65-member NAACP Board of Directors voted unanimously to urge the Senate to reject his nomination as attorney general. At the confirmation hearing, held by the Senate Judiciary Committee, the NAACP was joined by the Congressional Black Caucus and the liberal Americans for Democratic Action in opposing Bell.

Clarence Mitchell, the NAACP chief Washington lobbyist, charged at the hearing that Carter would have lost the Presidential election if Blacks in such states as Ohio and Maryland had known he would name Griffin Bell. Such a nomination, he asserted, was "incredible."

Mitchell accused Democratic

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24









400 Celebrate "Wilson For Mayor" Office Opening

(Oakland, Calif.) — Close to 400 Oaklanders from throughout the city jampacked the campaign headquarters of popular Judge LIONEL WILSON, last Thursday evening to celebrate the office's opening and provide well-wishes for Wilson's mayoralty candidacy. Following on the heels of an overwhelming campaign kick-off held the week before, the campaign headquarters' opening buoyed hopes that Wilson will become this city's first Black mayor in the April 19 elections.

BPINS photos

Pentagon Blackmail Revealed

Foreign Intervention "For Political Impact"

(New York, N.Y.) - American military forces have been sent abroad "for political impact" at least 215 times in the 30 years since the end of World War II, a report recently released by the Brookings Institute has revealed.

The study on U.S. military blackmail was made at the request of the Pentagon, *Workers' World* reports. The study focused on the dispatch of military forces "to influence the behavior of another nation." Two blatant examples of such behavior, the Korean and Vietnamese wars, were excluded from the study.



U.S. Marines raise flag on the USS Mayaguez after an attack on the people of Cambodia.

"U.S. strategic nuclear forces were deployed for political effect in 33 instances," the Brookings report notes, adding that this atomic blackmail included "overt and explicit threats" against the Soviet Union. However, the study continues, "On the other hand, the Russians have almost never instigated the crisis."

The typical propaganda used by the U.S. government to justify its military intervention overseas has been that America is a "peace-loving nation" surrounded by numerous "enemies," usually "communists," intent on destroying freedom. The Brookings study has exposed this false propaganda by showing that these so-called enemies of American democracy are usually small countries thousands of miles from the U.S. that have moderate-sized armed forces.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

RUTH LOVE "IN A BUBBLE"

OAKLAND BLACK SCHOOL WORKERS BLAST HIRING/PROMOTION BIAS

(Oakland, Calif.) — Black employees of the Oakland Public Schools Buildings and Ground Department charged last week that racial discrimination is blatantly practiced in the district in respect to hiring and promotion of minority workers.

Although Oakland's population is over 50 per cent Black, the percentage of Black employees in the Department is under 20 per cent with no Black employees in supervisory positions.

CONSTANTLY SHIFTED

Many Black workers in the Buildings and Grounds Department are constantly shifted around to different odd jobs, thereby eliminating their chances to gain expertise in a particular area. However, the most blatant form of bias occurs when a White worker with less seniority is promoted before his Black counterpart.

Recently, the school district has been hiring workers into the Buildings and Grounds Department through the use of CETA and Earthquake Safety funds. Here again, discrimination is evident as Blacks are the first to be laid off when "funds are not available" and again, Whites with less seniority are promoted at a faster rate.

A group of Black workers from the Department visited the office of THE BLACK PANTHER last week and outlined the problems they face. Some of the basic changes they are seeking are:

•The implementation of affirmative action in the hiring and promotion of Black and minority workers;

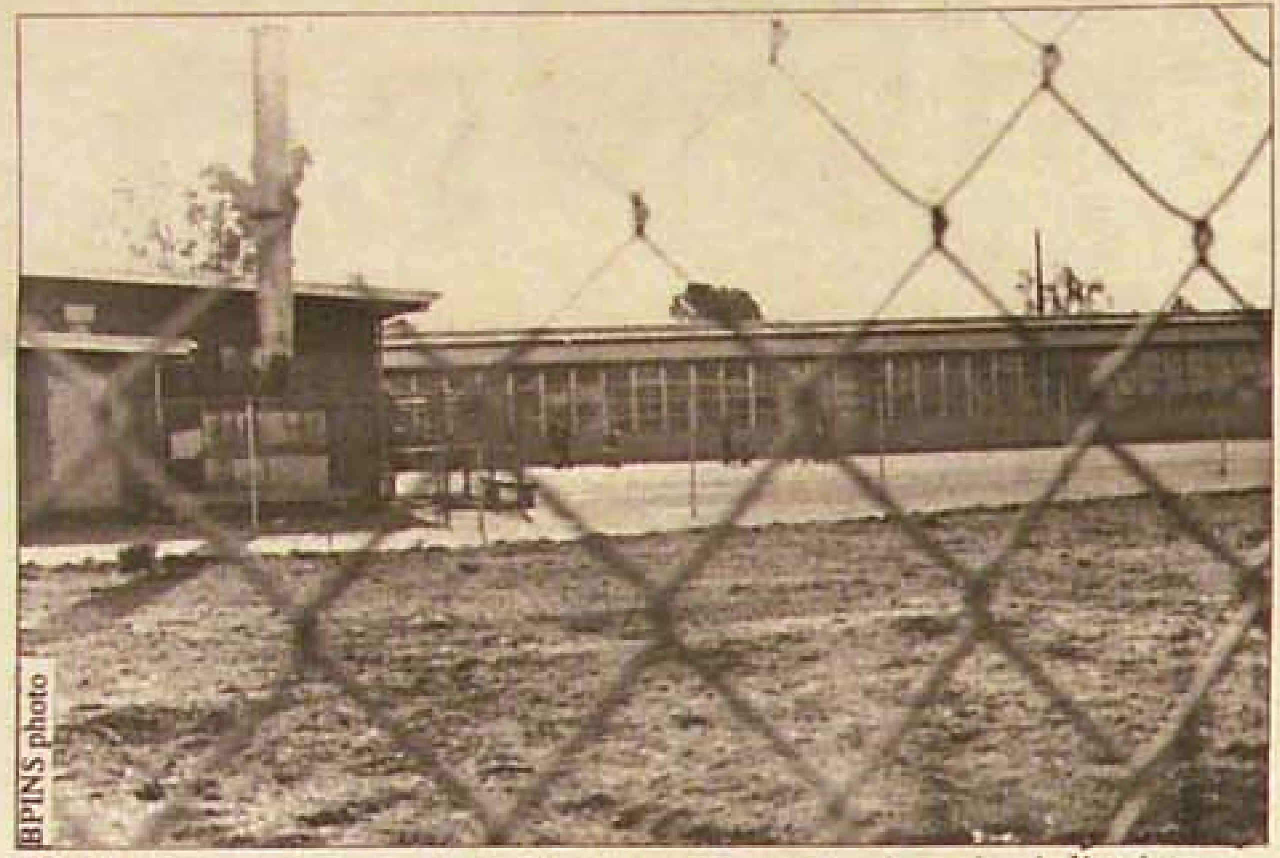
•The promotion of a Black worker to a supervisory or assistant supervisory position in each department;

•Improvement of communications between management and workers; and

•An open listing of all CETA and Earthquake Safety employees so that seniority can be monitored.

Black employees in Buildings and Grounds stressed that the district's Affirmative Action officer, John Carusone, has refused to address their grievances while Black Oakland schools superintendent Ruth Love has kept herself isolated from the problem, "in a bubble."

The school district, said one worker, "is in the 19th century" in terms of equal employment opportunity for Black workers.□



BPINS photo

Oakland elementary school. Black employees in the school district are organizing against bias in hiring and promotion of minority workers.



Young People's Theater, Disco Dancers Get Down At O.C.L.C.

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) Young People's Theater and local East Oakland dance groups thrilled a standing-room-only crowd at the Learning Center's weekly Community Forum last Sunday.

The Young People's Theater, composed of teens who frequent the OCLC, performed various theater games, improvisations, monologues, recited poetry in addition to acting out a scene from One Last Look. *The local dance groups — among them Black Magic, Darrell Jones and Company, Derick and Company, Peterson and Newberry and the Magic Ladies — turned the show out in a "live" disco dance "showdown."*









BPINS photos

Juvenile Justice Commission

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

criminal justice system, certainly not what I saw at 400 Broadway, should be to give people new hope or work out a way in which youth could feel better about themselves and go on and do valid things in their communities, in their schools and in their homes. I saw an overwhelming feeling of depression and boredom."

Responding to the statement made by one Commission member that "...lots of these kids would probably just prefer watching television than reading a book," Ericka asked, "A bookcase full of books — what would that hurt?"

The rooms provided to the predominantly Black and poor children are nothing more than cells with bars and sparse furniture. The Callahan report said that youth held at Juvenile Hall usually "require secure custody." Ericka expressed her belief that the overall conditions in the juvenile detention centers are too "restrictive and confining for children. Secure custody is one thing, but some kind of administrative faith in human beings is missing at Juvenile Hall."

DISPROPORTIONATE

A disproportionately high number of Black children are admitted to the juvenile detention centers — 70 per cent by the staff's admission. The Callahan report said that as of September, 1976, 50 per cent of the youth admitted to Juvenile Hall were Black. Ericka said that her concern is that while the children are overwhelmingly Black, the majority of the staff is White. (According to the report, 70 per cent of the staff is Black.)

The Juvenile Justice Commission directed Callahan to present a report concerning the affirmative action hiring policies.

Among the other issues listed in the report that Ericka discussed were the lack of group foster homes and the "criminal" way in which the children are treated, including being forced to wear institutionalized clothing.

Concerning foster homes, Ericka said that she knows a number of people willing to become foster parents but that the procedures of doing so are bogged down in red tape.

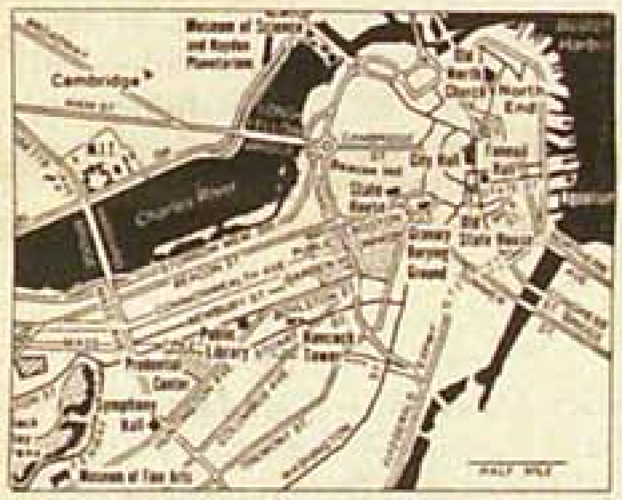
On the subject of institutionalized clothing, Ericka said the children are dressed like prisoners in adult prisons. Noting that Alameda County "is not a poor county," she asked if it would not be possible to purchase new clothing for youth in the juvenile detention centers.

Boston Faces Severe Financial Crisis

(Boston, Mass.) - A wave of firings, cuts in services and plans for the sweeping reorganization of the city's government can mean only one thing: the fiscal crisis revue is coming to Boston. The successful show that opened in New York City last year is now on the road.

Boston's big banks, working behind the scenes, two weeks ago dictated to Mayor Kevin White the terms of how the city will operate.

In December, the *Boston Globe* quoted several sources who said the "financial community" had directly intervened in determining the scope of Boston's budget cuts. They issued "guidelines" for the city to ax some $15 million in jobs and services before June 30.



Partial map of financially troubled Boston.

Meanwhile, two groups fronting for the major banks — the Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation (MTF) and the Committee For Boston (CFB) — were intensively lobbying to erase improved municipal services won in the 1960s.

The group also put forth proposals to revamp the city government. The proposals would drastically reduce the power of the urban political machine which now controls Boston's city council and school committee. At the same time, if enacted, they would increase the power of urban renewal forces which have been instrumental in destroying working-class neighborhoods and in promoting services and tax breaks to big business.

By late December, Mayor White announced plans to fire 1,500 city workers. He is also expected to dismantle the Office of Drug Abuse, the Community Schools, one program in the Youth Activities Commission, 24

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

INTERCOMMUNAL SURVIVAL COMMITTEE IN-DEPTH REPORT

WHO RULES CHICAGO?

The following commentary was submitted by the Chicago-based Intercommunal Survival Committee and reprinted from their progressive monthly magazine, Keep Strong.



Chicago's ward system had been the backbone of the late Mayor Richard Daley's corrupt political machine.

The death of Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago for 22 years, and the power struggle for political control of the city have been the focus of national as well as local news.

While Mayor Daley is praised and eulogized as the "man who made Chicago work," the media spotlight seeks to find who his "successor" will be. But for the majority of Chicago's poor and working people for whom Chicago does not and did not "work," it is time to analyze, to analyze quickly and then to act.

Daley was an ordinary power hungry politician with enough skill in politics to be recognized and gain friends among the rich and powerful in the city and the country. For 22 years he served the every whim of the banks, the big insurance companies, the real estate speculators and the large corporations.

REMEMBER THE FACTS

In the middle of the rhetoric, we should remember the facts; Chicago is divided into 50 wards, each with about 60-70,000 people. Each ward has an alderman who represents those people on the city council. But each ward also has a Democratic Party ward committeeman. These fifty ward committeemen sit on the Cook County Democratic Party Central Committee. This Central Committee is the shadow government of the city.

The ward committeeman is responsible for getting the vote out in his ward, and his power depends on the number of votes he gets out. During Daley's term of office as mayor and chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee. There was actually a secret formula for doling out the power. If the ward committeeman got out 10,000 votes in his ward for the party, then that determined his percentage of the city jobs he would get to hand out to recruit his precinct captains and precinct workers with.

The precinct captain could get you cut off of welfare, or he could get you put on welfare. He could get you past a waiting list at Cook County Hospital. He could get your son out of legal problems in the courts and maybe even a summer job with the city.

Daley acted as the caretaker of the Central Committee, seeing that the power was fairly distributed among the various ward committeemen. Through time he attained more and more power, and he was never challenged in his caretaker role by those with money because he never bucked them.

In the last few years before Daley died the Democratic machine was already beginning to put itself out of business in the poor and oppressed community. This happened in two ways.

First, the political machinery began to expose itself to the people. The same Richard J. Daley who was honored last month as a "kind and gentle administrator" ordered Chicago police to "shoot to kill" and "aim to maim" people in the Black and oppressed community after Dr. Martin Luther King was killed.

Daley's first chosen "successor," Edward Hanrahan, was thoroughly discredited after his state's attorney police were involved in the assassination of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

At the precinct level, the well-paid precinct captains often moved out of the oppressed communities all together, coming back only during election day. The services they offered began to dry up as cutbacks in basic available city services were on the increase.

But the disintegration of the Daley Democratic machine was caused most of all by a small group of men who were not public officials and who did not hold city "patronage" jobs. Men like Thomas Ayers, president of Commonwealth Edison, heads of banking, real estate and business made the decision in the early 1960s that Chicago was to be reclaimed for the middle class.

The Daley administration has been characterized more by the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24



RICHARD DALEY'S (inset) handpicked successor ED HANRAHAN (seated) and Chicago cops who participated in December 4, 1969, assassination of BPP members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

CAMP PENDLETON TRIAL TESTIMONY REVEALS K.K.K. PROVOCATION OF BLACK MARINES

(Camp Pendleton, Calif.) — Testimony here in the courts-martial of 11 Black Marines charged with assaulting six White soldiers has revealed the existence of widespread and rampant provocation and intimidation carried out by Ku Klux Klan members on the sprawling Camp Pendleton Marine Corps base.

Numerous witnesses have testified that Klansmen stationed on the base openly flaunt their KKK insignia, carry "nigger stickers" (knives), and incite brawls with Black Marines.

Also, the Marine Corps' claim that it "was not aware of any active Klan organization at Camp Pendleton" was refuted by several of those who testified. Witnesses report seeing Klan literature being openly distributed as well as KKK stickers pasted on barracks' door.

Defense attorneys for the Black Marines, who were charged after a November 13, 1976, incident in which they allegedly attacked a beer party which was thought to be a Klan meeting, are contending that the Black servicemen were provoked. Two Black Marines have pleaded guilty of lesser charges.

Noted activist attorney Leonard Weinglass has recently announced he is joining the defense team. Weinglass said that he will seek to disqualify the Marine Corps from hearing the case on the grounds that the Corps allowed "the conditions to develop that gave rise to the (November 13) episode." Weinglass predicted that other attorneys "whose names you'll recognize" will join in the defense of the Black Marines.

COURTS-MARTIAL

At the courts-martial, Lance Corporal Robert Le Clair, a roommate of Klansman Private Dennis Campbell, testified that KKK members on the base patrolled the base in armed groups harassing Blacks, "trying to get them to fight."

Two former Black Marines, David Pender and George Harris, told of being beaten by Marines wearing KKK insignias outside an enlisted men's club. They stated that they had complained to their superior officers as long ago as July and August but their protests were ignored.

Three of the Camp Pendleton Klansmen were scheduled to testify recently, but all three failed to appear in court. The three, Private Charles Smith, Private Dennis Campbell and Private Ronnie Harper, were given a slap on the hand as they were declared on "unauthorized absence."



KKK cross-burning ceremonies. Open and blatant Klan activity is being exposed in the Camp Pendleton trial.



The base's commanding officer, Major General Carl Hoffman, claimed that the Klan activity on the base is "only a miniscule, faltering operation," yet former Camp Pendleton "Exalted Cyclops" David Bailey (who has been transferred) stated, "We have a lot more secret members, running into the hundreds..."

Bailey also boasted that the Klan has an "armory," reports the *New York Times*, "safely hidden off the base but handy if we should need them." □

Pentagon Blackmail Revealed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Among the countries to which U.S. armed forces have been sent to ensure that political events occurred in U.S. interests are Chile, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Uruguay, Argentina, Honduras, Syria, Nicaragua, Egypt, Morocco, Iraq, Ecuador, Zanzibar, Kuwait, the Dominican Republic, Yemen, Mexico, Panama, Tanzania, Libya, Trinidad and Bangladesh.





The U.S. military is known for its intervention into the internal affairs of countries throughout the world.

ZAIRE

The government of Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo) was threatened by U.S. military forces six times between July, 1960, and July, 1967. In February, 1961, the CIA overthrew and assassinated popular Congo leader Patrice Lumumba, the first Black prime minister of the then newly independent Congo, and subsequently installed the current reactionary, puppet government of Sese Mobutu.

The U.S. also intimidated Indonesia half a dozen times between February, 1957, and October, 1965, when the U.S. Seventh Fleet moved in off the coast of Indonesia to back up a right-wing coup in which over one million people were killed.

In addition, American military force was used during the right-wing coup in Greece in April, 1967, and in support of reactionary takeovers in Guatemala, Haiti and Brazil. □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Blacks Migrate South

(Washington, D.C.) — The preliminary Census Bureau count for 1976 last week showed that for the first time the majority of the U.S. population lives in the South and West, with the key factor being the migration of Black people from the South. By 1974, for the first time since the Civil War, more Black people were migrating into the South than were moving North out of the region. The Census Bureau count showed the U.S. with a population of 214,659,000, up 1.63 million from 1975.

No C.I.A. Prosecution

(Washington, D.C.) — The Justice Department said last week that it will not prosecute CIA employees who illegally opened overseas mail from 1953 to 1973. Under the 20-year secret mail surveillance program, the CIA opened letters addressed to thousands of Americans from foreign countries. The report said evidence suggests "that President Eisenhower had knowledge of and approved" the program.

F.B.I. Gets J.F.K. Bullets

(Washington, D.C.) — Chief counsel Richard A. Sprague of the special House Assassinations Committee says the FBI can have unrestricted access to the test bullets fired from the rifle of Lee Harvey Oswald. However, Sprague said, "...no evidence leaves National Archives unless arrangements have been made so that it is safely returned and no one can even suggest any tampering with such evidence."

Bank Pays For Fraud

(San Francisco, Calif.) — The Bank of America will pay $275,000, the largest consumer fraud settlement in San Francisco history, for false and misleading advertising. The settlement arises from an October advertising campaign that claimed Bank of America had "low and competitive interest rates" on new car loans. The false advertising claims were exposed when the San Francisco Consumer Action published a survey that showed Bank of America had the highest rates of any commercial bank in the Bay Area.

U.S. FILES SUIT AGAINST ILLINOIS PRISONS, COOK COUNTY JAIL

(Chicago, Illinois) — The federal government filed separate suits recently against the Illinois state and Cook County corrections departments, charging that 17 state prisons and the Cook County Jail are dangerously overcrowded and without adequate health care and sanitary facilities.

Attorneys for the Justice Department stated that the suits, which name outgoing Illinois Governor Daniel Walker and state corrections director Charles J. Rowe among the defendants, mark the first time the federal government has ever taken action on its own against any prison system to charge abuses of inmate civil rights.

The suit charges that overcrowding in Illinois penal institutions and Cook County Jail is injurious to the physical and mental health of prisoners; that in most of the prisons, toilets, sinks and showers are inoperable; that there are inadequate ventilation, lighting and heat; and that the prisons are infested by cockroaches, rats and mice.

The suit also contends that the Illinois Department of Corrections failed to provide adequate medical care for prisoners and that Black prisoners are assigned to cellblocks on the basis of race and denied equal access to various prison programs.

PRISON REFORM

Ira Schwartz, executive director of the John Howard Association, a prison reform group, said the combined federal action indicates that "Illinois may have the worst state prisons and Chicago the worst county jail system of any state or county in the country.

"Not only do we have overcrowding," he said, "but the conditions in the institutions are probably at their worst point in the last 10 years."

The filing of the suits against the state and Cook County came three years after federal agents were first ordered to investigate Illinois prisons and the Cook County Corrections Department.

Late last summer, reports the *Chicago Sun-Times*, after cases of prisoner mistreatment and denial of mental health services were disclosed by a series printed in the *Sun-Times*, the federal government stated it was intensifying its investigation.

Presently, a Cook County grand jury is looking into the disclosures made by the newspaper series. The jury is examining charges that acting corrections director Winston Moore personally took part in the beating of prisoners.

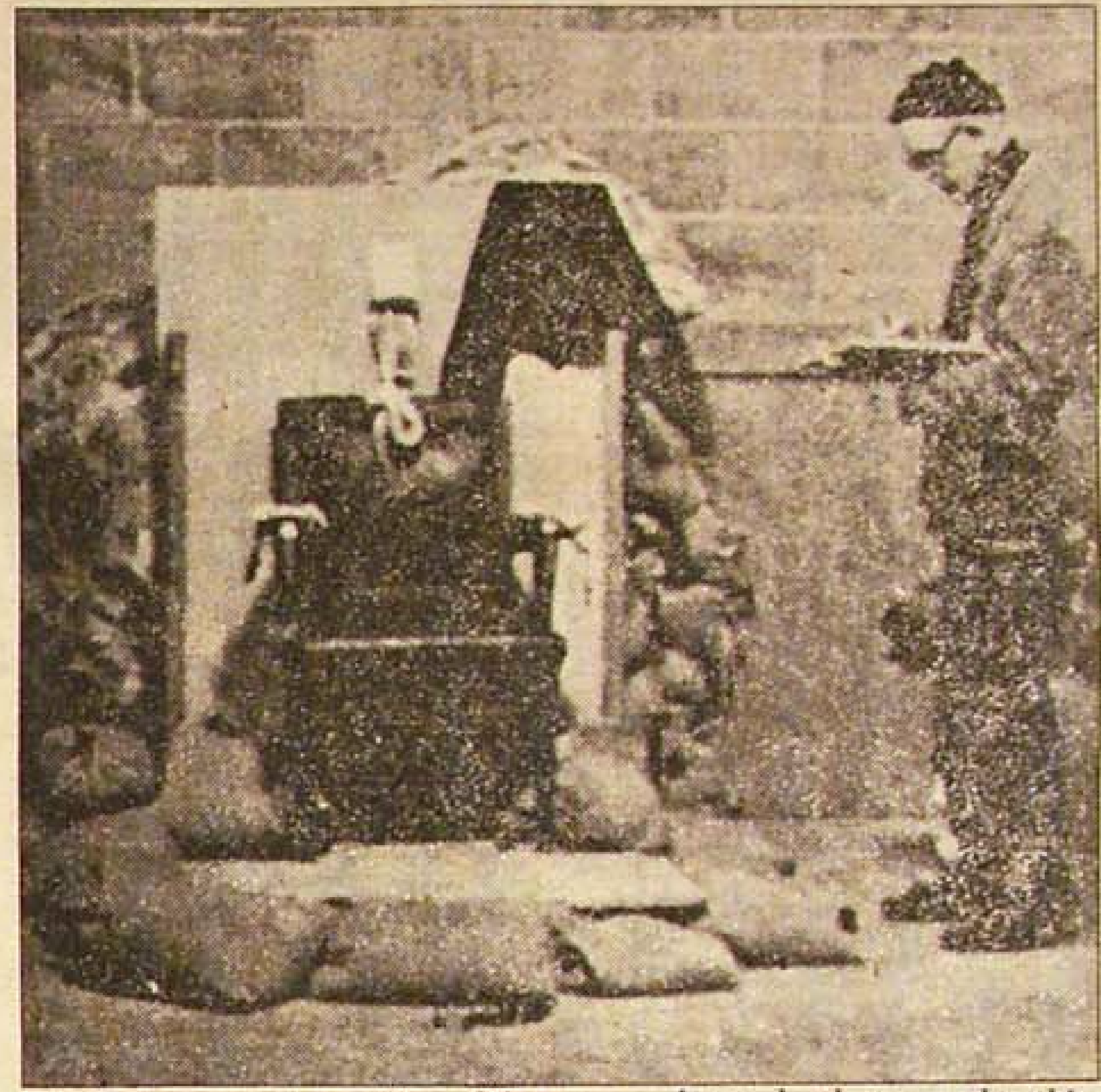
Meanwhile, a federal suit is being prepared on behalf of 32 inmates at Stateville (Illinois) Correctional Center due to their unjust transfer from minimum security to the prison's death row section.

According to Stateville inmate Brad Greene, "This reactionary move was prompted by the desire of the state and institutional administrators' desire to obscure and conceal an escape by a prisoner...on October 28, 1976."

In mid-November, Warden David Brierton and the riot squad rounded up the entire prison population and told inmates that he was enforcing new criteria handed down from the state capitol. The new guidelines, claimed the warden, stated that any prisoner with 10 years or more to do on their sentence did not meet the requirements for being in minimum security.

However, Brierton did not mention that the criteria did not apply to inmates already in minimum security, since the new rules could not be applied retroactively. The new regulation affected only inmates who applied for minimum security status after October 1, 1976.

Presently, attorney Nancy Preston is preparing a federal suit against this action. Greene stated in correspondence with THE BLACK PANTHER that the 32 inmates were removed from minimum security "in an arbitrary and punitive fashion."□



Utah death row inmate Gary Gilmore was shot to death strapped to this chair, in the U.S.'s first execution in 10 years. (See editorial, page 2.)

Harry Edwards Denied Tenure At U.C. Berkeley

(Berkeley, Calif.) — Noted Black sociologist/activist Harry Edwards was denied tenure at the University of California, Berkeley, in a vote held last week by the school's sociology department.

Edwards blasted the vote, which has angered the Black and minority student enrollment at the huge university, as "racist" and "political." "Vested interests within the university," said Edwards, "did not want me belonging to their country club."

The popular Black scholar, who became well-known for his attempts to organize a Black boycott of the 1968 Olympics, taught large lecture courses in introductory sociology as well as smaller classes in the sociology of sports (his speciality), race relations and marriage and family. Although the faculty committee which denied Edwards tenure claimed that the Black assistant professor's scholarship was "inadequate," in the past seven years Edwards has authored 41 articles and three textbooks. Edwards pioneered the academic discipline of sociology of sports.



HARRY EDWARDS

Edwards, who recently returned from an enlightening trip to the People's Republic of China, was well known on the U.C. Berkeley campus for his outspoken stance against the university's racist practices in terms of both admissions of Black and minority students and hiring and promotions of Third World teachers and personnel.

Last year Edwards was instrumental in organizing a statewide coalition formed to address the vital issue of affirmative action in the policies of the University of California. This activity, rather than the noted Black sociologist's academic credentials, is viewed by many as the primary factor in Edwards' rejection by the U.C. Sociology Department.□

Statewide Movement For Minority Admissions

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

A press release issued by the Bay Area Coalition Against the Bakke Decision states concerning U.C.'s policies toward minority students:

"It is part of U.C. tradition to systematically attempt to deny minorities and women the right to an education. . .In the years just before the affirmative action programs (1967-1969) only one Black and two Chicanos were admitted to the U.C. Davis medical program. Today only 16 out of 100 slots are open to national minorities. This is in a state where the Chicano population alone is 16 per cent of the total. Despite U.C.'s liberal talk, nearly 70 per cent of its graduate school remains male and 75 per cent White.

"If the Bakke decision is implemented at U.C., grade point averages and entrance exams will be the main criteria in determining who is the 'most qualified student,' " the press release notes.

"NATIONAL DISASTER"

Leading off the speakers for the afternoon, James Bell, a member of the Executive Board of the Hastings College Black Law Students Association, said that the Bakke decision could become a "national disaster rather than a state disaster" if the U.S. Supreme Court decides to uphold the state court's ruling. Warning of the danger of the Bakke case, Bell said, "This decision is just the beginning of outright repression of Third World people. The rug's about to be yanked from under us.."

Briefly outlining the legal arguments involved in the case, Bell said that the California Supreme Court reached its decision on the grounds that Bakke was a better student than the minority applicants because he scored higher on the admissions tests than they did and that race cannot be used as the basis for setting up admissions programs.

Attacking both of these arguments as invalid, Bell said, "To say that nothing can be based on race in America, a racist society, is bullshit."

Other speakers for the conference were Rodolfo Acuna, Chicano author, historian and professor at Cal State, Northridge; Carol DeBerry, president of the East Bay Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Carlos Munoz, representing Chicano Studies at U.C. Berkeley and the Educational Task Force Against Bakke.

JUDGE IRA BROWN BOWS TO OVERWHELMING COMMUNITY PRESSURE

I-HOTEL TENANTS WIN LAST-MINUTE STAY OF EVICTION





BPINS photos

I-Hotel supporters march in recent protest (above) and tenant FELIX AYSON (right) addresses San Francisco City Hall rally.

(San Francisco, Calif.) — Bowing to overwhelming community pressure, a San Francisco Superior Court judge made a 11th-hour decision Monday evening to grant elderly Chinese and Filipino residents of the International Hotel (I-Hotel) a stay of eviction until March 4. Ironically, the judge who granted the stay, Judge Ira Brown, is the same person who issued the latest eviction order two weeks ago.

I-Hotel supporters, however, maintain their vigilance and have vowed to intensify their efforts to force the city of San Francisco to acquire the Chinatown building and convert it into low-income housing.

The eviction could have taken place anytime over a five day period, beginning 6:00 a.m. Tuesday morning, January 18. Reports and rumors circulating Monday evening that an armed sniper had been sighted atop the I-Hotel and that Chinese and Filipino youth in the neighborhood were buying gasoline in unusually large quantities are said to have influenced Judge Brown's decision to halt the eviction proceedings.

While repeating their pledge to form a "human barricade" to stop sherriffs deputies from moving in, supporters later denied any violent intentions.

The previous day, over 5,000 people turned out in a massive show of support for the I-Hotel tenants, demanding that the city of San Francisco stop the eviction.

The huge crowd chanted "No, No, No Evictions" as they marched to the civil rights hymn "We Shall Not Be Moved."

One of the marchers, 52-year-old native San Franciscan Jean Nelson, commented, "I love my city...and I think the International Hotel is part of it and I believe in the right of the people to low-cost housing."

Another elderly marcher stated, "They (the tenants) shouldn't be moved out. You know how they do the minorities. It happens all over. I know because I come out of the Deep South and that's why I'm marching."

If an eviction should ever take place, I-Hotel tenants and supporters have a highly organized apparatus which can be put immediately into action. It includes a "telephone tree" to alert supporters, security systems, legal observer teams, medical teams, crowd control monitors, and sound and communications systems.

Meanwhile, attorneys for the I-Hotel residents moved to have another judge hear their case as Superior Court Judge Henry Rolph turned down a request for a stay of eviction on Sunday. The San Francisco Housing Authority has already voted to acquire the hotel under an eminent domain process but court hearings on the matter are not scheduled until February 1.

Although Rolph did agree to order that the building be turned over to the Housing Authority and the demolition be halted, his order will not be effective until after February. A Hong-Kong based company, the Four Seas Corporation, is attempting to acquire the hotel, raze it and build a downtown parking lot.

Joe Diones, the building's manager for over a decade and head of the I-Hotel Tenants Association, remarked, "For many years the Housing Authority has been talking about housing, but they have done nothing. They have developed nothing in the Chinatown/Manilatown area. The same thing with the Yerba Buena redevelopment project. We got promises, promises, and we only got holes in the ground."

Ben Griffin Honored At S.A.F.E. Club Movie And Dinner

(Oakland, Calif.) — Last Saturday the S.A.F.E. (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) Club sponsored an afternoon movie and dinner and a surprise birthday for 75-year-old BEN GRIFFIN (center).

The afternoon started with the showing of the popular film "Come Back Charleston Blue" and afterwards everyone enjoyed a delicious fish dinner, then. Mr. Griffin, an avid S.A.F.E. enthusiast, was stunned as he was presented with a birthday cake by his fellow seniors. "The only other birthday party I ever had," he said while looking back on his long life, "was when I was one year old."





The beloved Mr. Griffin, one of the most respected persons of the many who regularly visit the Learning Center, was honored by everyone at the OCLC on this day, by young and old alike.

BPINS photos

JUNE DEADLINE

U.F.W. Launches Mass Organizing Drive

(La Paz, Calif.) — The countdown in California's historic farm labor elections is on once again. And for Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers (UFW), the deadline is June — when the state legislature votes again on funding for the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), *Pacific News Service* reports.

In the wake of the 62-38 per cent drubbing the UFW took on Proposition 14 in November, union leaders expect a grower-backed attempt to hold up next year's budget until major changes are made in the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA). Proposition 14 was a ballot initiative to make the act immune to legislative amendment.

That leaves only six months of elections under what the UFW considers a satisfactory law. In that time union organizers hope to make a big dent in the 82 per cent of California's 300,000 farmworkers still untouched by union elections.



UFW march for farmworkers' rights.

The larger the membership by June, they reason at UFW headquarters here, the better the chances of defeating or withstanding the effects of amendments cutting back the union's ability to organize.

The outcome of the drive may determine the fate of farm labor in states from Texas and Florida to New York — where the UFW hopes to move if it can organize the bulk of California's farmworkers.

Despite the Proposition 14 loss, UFW leaders point to several reasons for confidence:

•Victory in each of their first

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

ALTERNATIVE INSTITUTION AIMED AT HALTING "CULTURAL DESTRUCTION"

AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL OPENS IN OAKLAND

(Oakland, Calif.) - The American Indian Community School, an alternative institution concerned with halting the cultural destruction of Native Americans, opened here recently in a white teepee in East Oakland.

The school's director, Bill Wahpepah, stated that, "Public schools are a weapon against our children, our people. .They destory them culturally, spiritually and sometimes physically."

The progressive new school, which has no formal grade structure, has students ranging in age from 6 to 18, with a majority being junior high school age young women.

Wahpepah explained that Native Americans feel that public schools have no concern for the special needs of Indian children, lack relevant curriculums and are over burdened with bureaucracy.

Native American activist and American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks, a participant in the celebrated 1973 Wounded Knee uprising, is a teacher at this new people's institution. Banks, who is teaching federal Indian law at D-Q University, a private college for Indian and Chicano students near Davis, California, added that "racist" and "very bigoted" public school teachers are also a problem.

"This (school) is not an act of withdrawing children from public schools," he said. "It is an act of putting them into an alternative school designed for the basic needs of the Native American student."



Youth at American Indian Community School participate in cultural ritual.

GETTING UNDER WAY

According to Wahpepah, plans for the school got under way last fall after he returned from a Federation of Survival Schools conference in Minnesota. The American Indian Community School, he relates, is the first of its kind in Oakland although several other such schools are underway around the country.

"We understand," Wahpepah said, "that the struggle to begin is very hard because we probably will have flak from the authorities, but we want our children to be taught correctly."

The school faculty, who will work free of charge, includes Banks, Verno Ketcheshawno., head of the Native American Studies department at San Francisco State; Simon Ortez, an instructor at the College of Marin; and at least one former Oakland public school teacher.

Presently the school is operating on whatever money Wahpepah can spare from his salary as director of the American Indian Adult Education program here in Oakland although donations are starting to trickle in and applications have been filed for two grants.

Southern Black Turnout In 1976 Elections Highest Ever

(Atlanta, Georgia) — "The Black vote in 1976 was the largest and most decisive exercise of minority political power in this century," according to a recent press release from the Voter Education Project (VEP), but still, the potential for Black electoral power has yet to be fulfilled.

VEP head Harry Huge was quick to point that "there are still three million unregistered Blacks in the 11 southern states and that "of approximately seven million southern Blacks of voting age, only about two and one-half million actually turned out to vote in the last national election.

"By another measure," he stated, "the percentage of Blacks in the Southern population is over 20 per cent, but the number of public offices held by Blacks is only 2.5 per cent. In fifteen years, the VEP has made a contribution which has only begun to transform the politics of the South, but the foundation has been well laid. With continued work and determined efforts, continuing progress seems inevitable."



Southern Blacks line up to exercise their political power. The turnout for Black voters in the South in 1976 was the highest ever.

LEWIS RESIGNS

Recently, VEP founder/executive director John Lewis resigned (effective January 15) to run for the Congressional seat vacated by the appointment of Andrew Young as U.S. United Nations ambassador.

In his letter of resignation, Lewis said, "My past seven years with Voter Education Project have been rewarding ones...The viability of the VEP enabled me to make this difficult decision to continue my life's work in a new arena."

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Trial"

The racist nature of Oakland police office John Frey, killed in an attack upon the life of Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton on October 28, 1967, is still being discussed in this portion of the chapter "Trial" from Revolutionary Suicide. *Also in this famous 1968 trial defense lawyer Charles Garry calls a surprise witness.*

PART 83

A young White schoolteacher, Bruce Byson, who had taught Frey in high schoool, invited him to come back and speak to the class about his work as a policeman. While he was talking to the high school students, Byson testified, Frey referred to people in the Black community as "niggers" and spoke disparagingly of them as criminals and lawbreakers.

Garry wanted the jury to understand what Black people are subjected to by cops like Frey, hung up on power. He also wanted them to realize that Frey's bloodthirstiness was responsible for his own death. Belford Dunning, the insurance man, had said to him the day before he died, "Man, if you don't lick this, you are not going to last very long around here."

As a matter of fact, Frey's superiors had already decided to move him out of the Black community into another area, where he would be less of a lethal threat to innocent human beings. But they were too late, and Frey himself fulfilled Dunning's prophey. Garry stressed this aspect of Frey's behavior (and by implication, most other policemen) over and over again during his defense. Frey was not only a bully to helpless people; he was also determined to exterminate anyone whom he considered a threat to his own dubious masculinity.

"You know," Garry said to the jury during his summation, "since the day I got into this case, one thing has bothered me. Why in tarnation was Officer Frey so headstrong in stopping Huey Newton's automobile? I wake up at night trying to find an answer to that, and I can't find an answer. This bothers me. It is just not part of legal due process. It is not part of any understanding of justice. It is not part of any understanding of the proper administration of the law.

"Frankly, it is not the type of police action that I have personally witnessed, but then again, I am not a Black man. I am not a Black Panther. I am part of accepted society. I don't think any officer would stop me unless I was actually, openly, overtly violating the law.

"What was Huey Newton doing when he was driving down Seventh Street, between 4:50 and 5:00 o'clock in the morning, that warranted this officer to call in and ask for PIN (Police Intelligence Network) information, saying 'I got a Black Panther car. See if there is something on it.'

"In my opening statement I told you that there was a plan, a concerted plan by the Oakland Police Department, together with other police departments in Alameda County, to get Huey Newton, to get the Black Panther Party. Huey Newton above all. . .

"Another thing that bothers me, and bothers me very, very much about the evidence, and it should bother you when you start analyzing it. If it is true that Officer Frey intended to arrest Huey Newton and, in fact, said, 'I now place you under arrest,' which we contend is not so, but let's assume for the sake of argument that he did, I don't understand why he didn't put handcuffs on him, since the Panthers are supposed to be such desperadoes.

"I further don't understand, if he was placing him under arrest, why he passed his own automobile. I don't understand why Officer Frey took Mr. Newton to the third automobile, to the back end of it. Why? Was he going to beat him up? You know, he could very well do it. He was a heavier man, weighing 200 pounds. He went to the gym regularly, according to Officer Heanes. Huey is a 165-pounder and Huey had a lawbook in his hand."



Black youth demand the release of Huey P. Newton at 1968 rally.

Perhaps the most significant comment that can be made about the testimony of these defense witnesses from the Black community is that Jensen offered no rebuttal. His silence was eloquent. I guess no one could be found to speak well of Frey.

What can you say about a policeman who owned three guns, carried extra ammunition on his cartridge belt, and was the only member of the Oakland force who did not use the regular bullets issued by the department but spent his own money to buy a special high velocity type?

On August 24, Charles Garry called Gene McKinney to the witness stand. When McKinney entered the courtroom that after noon with his lawyer, Harold Perry, a feeling of excitement and expectation could be felt among the spectators. Here was one of the most important witnesses to the shooting of Heanes and Frey.

Up until then, there had been considerable speculation about whether even the defense lawyers knew the name of my companion that morning. Throughout the trial reporters and newsmen had been asking Charles Garry whether the mysterious witness would testify. **TO BE CONTINUED**

B.P.P. SO. CALIFORNIA CHAPTER RE-OPENS

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

interests.

Even the Chapter's new headquarters at 5022 South Central Avenue—only a mere 10 blocks away from the old office at 4115½ South Central Avenue, where the LAPD, on December 8, 1969, laid siege for over four and one-half hours in the early morning, again attempting to crush the Party and again failing—added to the day's memories and promise of a new tomorrow.

Coordinator for the re-opened BPP Southern California Chapter is Bob Duren, a longtime political activist formerly based in nearby Long Beach, whose sister, Betty Scott, was viciously slain by a California highway patrolman in 1975.

The all-day activities last Monday began with a memorial rally for Bunchy Carter and John Huggins at Ackerman Union on the UCLA campus. Sponsored by the University's Black Student Alliance, several hundred students and nonstudents heard stirring speeches by Elaine, Ericka, Bob, BSA chairman Reggie Jackson, Brother Denifu and Brother Bobby Johnson. (See Elaine's and Ericka's speeches, which follow.)

From 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. at the new headquarters, 500 free bags of groceries were given away to an appreciative community, many of whom knew the Party from days gone by and were more than happy to see its return, so near and so soon. (Indeed, only the LAPD seemed upset the Black Panther Party was returning to Los Angeles, and they made their presence, as well as their displeasure, known throughout the day.)



Happy family takes home free, wholesome groceries they received at this week's re-opening of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party

At 7:00 p.m. that evening, the Party sponsored a benefit showing of the film *The Murder of Fred Hampton*, a stark documentary focusing on the assassination of the young, dynamic Illinois state Black Panther Party leader on December 4, 1969.

Following, in honor of the re-opening of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, THE BLACK PANTHER presents excerpts from the very moving speeches by Elaine Brown and Ericka Huggins.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

EXCERPTS OF SPEECH BY ERICKA HUGGINS

"As they said earlier, we're not here to celebrate. There is nothing to celebrate. I wanted to say some things about January 17, 1969, because I was there, and to all the students here, all the people here, I want to remember for you what happened on this lovely campus that day, what happened in my home, what happened to my three-week-old baby, and what happened to all of us.

"First, I'd like to say that Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter and John Huggins, not because I knew them well, but because they were, two of the most beautiful Black men in the entire world. That's why they were killed. Though they were killed by Black men, these men (the killers) were certainly tools of Los Angeles County and the United States government, and we're about to prove that true through our lawsuit, the Black Panther Party lawsuit. We're going to prove it true because we've been saying for the last eight years that the police did this.



ERICKA HUGGINS

"On the morning of January 17, 1969, I was in my house with my three-week-old baby, and I noticed that across the street there was a house covered with a canvas, and I wondered what that meant. I always wondered what things meant because the police were always outside my home. The police were always following us. The police were everywhere. And many times I took deep breaths because I thought that John would be killed at any moment, that Bunchy would die somewhere, and that we would never see them again.

"And on that morning when they left to come here, I didn't say goodbye, which was strange because I always did. But I didn't and that was the last I saw of them. That house was covered with a canvas and a friend went out to see why. And within an hour I received a phone call from a friend who said, 'Two men have been shot, and we don't know who they are.' I told him that I knew and I hung up the phone. Within the span of two hours, some of our other friends came by and said that John and Bunchy had been killed.

"We made moves to move away from that house because we knew the police would then turn on us, because you see, though the so-called US organization was directly responsible for the deaths of these two men, the police knew about it, planned it, carried it out.

"And so with a three-week-old child, four women and four men, we moved to get out of that house. In the span of about 10 minutes, at least 100 police officers — pigs — converged on the house from the roof of the house across the street covered with a canvas, from behind the house, on cars, motorcycles, trucks, vans, taxicabs, on foot. They cordoned off the street, and they took us. They searched my three-week-old baby for weapons. It was 5:30 p.m., January 17, 1969. I'm remembering it for you, because I think maybe we can forget.

"They took us handcuffed to the police station, and they took me separately with my child. They made us stop by the morgue. They went in, they came out and they said, 'Yeah, they're dead.' I acted like I didn't know what was happening. I had to.

"We went to the 77th Precinct police station, and we stayed there five, six, seven hours. It felt like two days. The things that they said and the things that they did showed how insecure they were about the existence of the Black Panther Party. It made me see that even though they had killed John and Bunchy, that there was no way to kill us. There has never been a way to kill us; there never will be.

"Putting all rhetoric aside and put in words, the Black Panther Party has always lived on in the minds of the people and in the actions of people like Bob Duren, who re-opened the Southern California Chapter. It lives on in the minds of children, like my daughter, and like the daughters and sons of so many of us.

"On January 17, 1969, Black men, who it was said were members of the US organization, stood in that police station and laughed with the police at us. The detectives laughed, all the people in authority there laughed, and they took us, the women, away to Sybil Bran

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER RE-OPENS

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

and they took the men away. We were charged with conspiracy with the intent to commit murder. Think about it. We were charged with conspiracy with the intent to commit murder.

"This is a specific incident in a city in which there was a Black Panther Party. It happened all across the country to many, many people. So many people's lives were affected by the things that went on that it isn't possible to recount them here. But we should remember this, and if we live, if we do something more than exist, then we should remember this and do something in our lives to change the existing order and make a world and a future where people will not have to suffer, and people will not have to feel the pain that we had to feel on January 17, 1969.

"They thought they could wipe out two people and destroy, and destroy, rid people of the need to have freedom. They didn't do that.

"I just wanted to say that on January 17, 1969, some horrible things happened and every day thereafter, and before that day also. In the Los Angeles Chapter of the Black Panther Party, seven people were killed. At least every two months, we were going to a funeral. But people said, 'No, this can't be true. The people in the Black Panther Party are lying. When did this happen?' But the people who were on South Central Avenue that day saw it, and I know they never forgot it. They saw what the police can do; they saw what the government will do in its fear of niggers rising up and people trying to throw off the shackles of oppression. They saw, in the work the Party did in Los Angeles, that people were really getting tired of allowing oppression in their lives; of allowing for men, women and children to be killed ruthlessly and for no reason.

"There's really nothing more I can say except that people should not forget. They should not forget Martin Luther King and what he said at the end of his life, so that we won't think of him as Martin Luther King, the nonviolent pacifist. They should remember Malcolm X at the end of his life so he will not be remembered wrongly. People should remember Huey P. Newton, though he is now in exile. You should remember him. You're his strength. You're his sensitivity to the needs of Black people in this country. And people should not forget people like John Huggins, Bunchy Carter, Fred Hampton, Mark Clark and Bobby Hutton.

"So, when you go back to play cards, when you go back to class, when you do whatever you do here at UCLA and wherever you live in Los Angeles County, remember that on January 17, 1969, eight years ago this day, two men were killed because they wanted freedom for themselves and for you."□



Fallen Comrades ALPRENTICE "Bunchy" CARTER and JOHN JEROME HUGGINS.

EXCERPTS OF SPEECH BY ELAINE BROWN

"Power to the people. I have a few things I'd like to say in thinking about John and Bunchy, but I'd also like to talk about a few other things also.

"My grandmother used to sing a song, 'Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?' and I was there. I was on this campus. I saw people crawling over the bodies of John and Bunchy and going out windows. I saw that there was no ambulance coming to take care of anyone. I saw that people had been lackadaisical and they returned to an attitude of: 'This doesn't really affect us. That's those people in the community.'

"I think that one of the things we have to talk about is why, really, were John and Bunchy killed. I think we need to talk about what is wrong and what we're going to do about it, if there's anything wrong at all. If there isn't, then we can just all go back to our classrooms. I don't want anyone to imagine that the Party is here to say, 'Well, we are coming on this campus to tell you people that you're doing something strange.' We need skills in our community. There are enough unskilled people; we have an abundance of unskilled people. We need people with skills, we need people who are going to participate in a total way, in a total struggle of our people for complete liberation.

"That struggle has not ended, and did not end on January 17, 1969, although a lot of people, and certainly the LAPD, were so happy when they felt that the Black Panther Party had essentially left this area.

"I think we need to talk about what is wrong, and one of the things that we have to identify is the nature of oppression in this country, for unlike other situations, this is not an underdeveloped country. In fact, it's overdeveloped. Those of us with charge accounts at everything from J.C. Penney's to Bullock's, those of us who can indulge in crumbs that are thrown to us as the result of the rip-off of poor people throughout Africa, Asia, Latin America, and what have you, we have this notion in our heads that we're really free. We have nothing that we have to worry about because we can get a pair of shoes and we can get a car. There's a sense that we're really not like other people around the world who are poor, even those of us at the bottom levels of oppression in this country.

"It's very difficult sometimes for us to identify the nature of oppression as well as explain how this oppression comes to us because it's all divided up here; in universities; in large corporation networks, in large industrial networks. It's very hard to identify. We have to deal with that and we have to figure out what is wrong because there is something wrong. There's something wrong when children are walking around hungry in this overtechnological, super-industrialized, overdeveloped country. Some of us may not even know what hunger is all about. But there are children who are still hungry and who are dying of hunger in this country.

"There are older people in this country who are walking around whose lives are totally abandoned to the grave because it's over for them; life is no longer important to them, and none of us are concerned about that, or so it seems to them.

"There are people who are languishing in prisons, in San Quentin, in Soledad, and in all kinds of prisons throughout this country, for the crimes of survival, not for baby rape, not for mass murder. Those are the few cases that get the public attention.

"This country does one thing to everybody: It says that you may get this much life for this much participation. Now if you go and get a degree from UCLA, if you have a Bachelor's Degree, you will earn this much money. Many, many Blacks, unfortunately, still take psychology and sociology courses, which will give you a job at A&W as a waitress, and maybe not that. A Master's Degree may make you $800, $900, $1,000 a month. *If* you continue to pay your bills, *if* you continue to keep up your house note, *if* you can get the down payment on the house, then you *may* get through the next 15 to 20 years of bills, and every two weeks out of the year you'll be able to appreciate some of the things that you're doing, but you won't know how you're doing or what you're doing, other than you're getting paid $800 to $1,000, maybe $1,200. Depending on the inflation and the rate of inflation, you might be able to eke out some existence and imagine that you're free. And you can buy three James Brown records and one Stevie Wonder record every other week and swear that you have something going for you. You can go to Joseph Magnin's, and one day you'll move up to I. Magnin's and sooner or later you'll be a Sachs Fifth Avenue person, *if* you keep up your bills and *if* you continue to take further education.

"This is the insanity and the barbarity of a country that says to people, 'Your life has a price on it. You will do this much for that much or nothing.' We have to look at the entire situation as the average Black person in this country, the average Chicano in this country, the average Puerto Rican in this country. (As a matter of fact, we ought to think of some of the Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico, where this country has one-fifth of the holdings of the entire country of Puerto Rico. Gerald Ford had the audacity to say, 'Listen, we want Puerto Rico to be the 51st state.' Well, you know people in Puerto Rico are jumping up and down just begging for the opportunity to become a part of the United States of America. Just like Black slaves said, 400 years ago, 'Just hurry up and get us there because we can't wait to build up the coffers and the agrarian society, and help you produce your industrial state because then we'll be abandoned by you again. We just can't wait for that.') The poor people of this country get into little cycles and the cycles are very divided up into every little piece of our lives from the very moment that we're born.

"All kinds of little oppressive things happen because the machinery is broken down and it's hard to identify where it starts and where it ends. But we have to be able to identify where it starts and where it ends if we ever want to overcome this, or else we're just satisfied. We're satisfied with the situation. We're satisfied with the fact that perhaps you wanted to sing a song or write a poem or perhaps you really didn't want to be a doctor or a nurse but it looks better for you to become a doctor or a nurse, even if you won't really be that interested, or it looks better if you do this thing or that thing because it has to do with whether you can live or not. Some people get a little poverty program money and are able to go to UCLA, Mills College up in Oakland, and so forth. 'Now we're away from it all, and we'll be different, things will be different, life will be better,' but it really won't be.

EXTREMELY COMFORTABLE

"It's extremely comfortable sometimes in this country because the crumbs are so big. You know it's easy when they go and rip-off the oil from here, the gold from there. We can check out how these things came to be. Sometimes we participate so much until it sort of hurts not to participate. It's kind of like the guy that works in the bomb factory and says, 'Listen. I'm really not making bombs, I'm making transistors. And anyway, I have two children to feed and no one's offered me another job. So, no, I don't want South Africa to be bombed. No, I don't want those people to be killed. Those are my brothers. They're Black too. We're right on.'

"People get really Black on you. But it's all right even to be Black. About 10 years ago, they first started selling us our hair. They can afford to accommodate all of our little quirks. But they can't accommodate a serious demand for power. And that's the only question we're talking about right now — a question of power, of ending all the injustices.

"It was so unfair that Bunchy and John were killed, it really was. It was so unfair that 50 million people died in the crossing when Blacks came from Africa to this country. It was unfair when Tyrone Guyton, a 14-year-old kid in Oakland, was shot down by two overgrown pigs. It was unfair when Martin Luther King was blown away by a conspiracy in this country and they had nerve enough to pin it on a little racist like James Earl Ray, who didn't have the heart to pull the trigger much less the intelligence to figure out which way to aim the gun. All of that is unfair. But it doesn't matter what is unfair. The only thing that matters is power. We are the people, and we ought to be in power. But we're not in power, we're poor...

"I want to tell you why, what the significance is in the fact that John and Bunchy were killed. Because the Black Panther Party just did one thing. We said, with our very lives, 'There is something wrong here, something has to be done.' And a lot of little Marxist groups came up, everyone carrying the Red Book, reading this and doing that, like they were going to organize the world out of a book. In Berkeley we see it all the time: having reading circles; smoking weed; looking at pictures of my dead friends; wanting us to make some more dead friends so they can have more pictures and have more conversations.

"I have nothing to say to that other than we're all going to bleed this time around. We're all going to participate in the revolution. Some of us won't even want to, but we're all going to participate, to achieve an abrupt change here.

"Bunchy and John did not die in vain. Nor was the Black Panther Party formed in vain. But the Black Panther Party is not as significant as the numbers of people who have died in vain in this country. The numbers of brothers that were killed in Vietnam and the numbers of Vietnamese people killed. The numbers of people who die from sclerosis, hypertension, sickle cell anemia, and all kinds of other diseases that are 'incurable' and that won't go away until oppression goes away.

"But a whole machinery — and we intend to prove this with a current lawsuit we just filed on December 1 last year — a whole machinery, the FBI, the CIA, came down against the Black Panther Party. They have admitted this by now, and even the Church Committee couldn't wash away all of that.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



ELAINE BROWN (inset) addresses memorial rally for Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins on the UCLA campus, where the two Black Panther Party leaders were killed eight years ago.



Proud, elderly couple with their free food, courtesy of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

B.P.P. SO. CALIFORNIA CHAPTER RE-OPENS

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

"'Well, we didn't create the Breakfast Program booklet,' they said, 'but we did distribute it and we did reproduce it and we did put it out in the thousands.' They mesmerized an entire country that watches too much TV with the idea that 'the Black Panther Party is indoctrinating young children.' ('We're just not going to talk about the pubic school system. That's irrelevant. The public school system is teaching millions of people to be intelligent and objective, objectively intelligent. Thinking people.') 'But the Black Panther Party is indoctrinating people.' And everybody went for that because they saw it on TV.

"But it's now been shown that the FBI, the CIA and all of those other agencies together turned on one small organization. Everybody was talking about, 'How big is the Black Panther Party?' We never wanted to tell, but really we were very small. We didn't have a lot of people. If we had put all of our inoperative guns together — and some of our operative guns together — we couldn't have gone up against 77th Precinct (an LAPD substation in Watts).

"Do you know what I'm saying? We were nothing to be afraid of, not the Black Panther Party in and of itself.

"What they were afraid of was that a whole bunch of other people would start getting an idea in their head that we're not supposed to accept this shit any longer. (Pardon me to *those of you who are filming and have to clip* things out.) That no longer would we have to accept *anything;* that we were the power, that we would make the decisions; we would decide how the courts would be run, what the laws would say, and that those laws would in fact serve us; that we would decide that we could eat; that we could decide that we would have decent medical care; that we could decide all the things for our lives that allow us to make other decisions; that the basics would be taken care of. The food and the clothing and the shelter — the little things that keep you breathing — would be taken care of. Even the air that we breathe would be clean enough for us to breathe it. That's all the Black Panther Party was all about.



Youth proudly display poster of Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton.

"People said, 'Well, are they Marxist?' There were some Blacks, some of them up on this campus, that said, 'Oh, they're integrationists,' because we wanted to work with SDS, because we wanted to work with the Brown Barets. We wanted to work with a whole lot of other organizations because we recognized then that there was a principle involved here that was more important than a color. That principle was that there is one common oppressor, and only a couple hundred of them. (A lot of pigs run around supporting them, but they're underpaid, going around here ready to be killed behind Richard Nixon and Richard Nixon's not ready to get killed for them. Can you imagine him taking his tired self out into the streets ready to defend his country? If that was all we had to go toe-to-toe with, we'd win tonight.) Unfortunately, they have a machinery, schools to keep our minds a certain way, stores and things to keep us mesmerized over here and peeping over there.

"So the question is, what do we do? The Black Panther Party—we weren't Marxists, we weren't Leninists, we weren't Fidelists, we weren't Maoists — we were just some poor people, many of us very ignorant, unskilled, uneducated that said, 'Listen, we do know *something* is wrong. *Something* is wrong and we're going to have to do *something* about it.' We started identifying what was wrong: police on the streets kicking in our doors. 'Wait a minute, where does it say they can kick in my door'; 'Where does it say that my child has to go to school dizzy in the head, crazy, because he or she can't eat.' That's all the Black Panther Party is about, that's all we were saying all along and that's all we're saying today. And if the Black Panther Party dissolves, or evolves into something else, it really won't matter as long as we remain clear on what the very serious problems are in this country and the fact that something has to be done about it.

"We attempted to do little things. We put together Survival Programs...

"J. Edgar Hoover said, 'The Black Panther Party is the single greatest threat to the internal security of the United States.' I tell you, this is a joke. Our little band wasn't going to deliver the world...We were not the 'greatest threat to the internal security of the United States' — 211 million people were that would have had an idea in their minds that, 'Listen, I no longer wish to be told how to live my life.' *That* was the 'greatest threat to the internal security of the United States,' *and* the fact that the Black Panther Party was willing to get out there and talk to anybody and everybody willing to listen, and lay down our very lives to do that. That's why we were classified and pointed out...

"But it isn't just the Black Panther Party, it's all of us together. What can we do? You don't have to join an organization, you don't have to leap up and down and join the Black Panther Party. Everybody's not willing to do that, everybody's not ready to do that and it's not necessary for everybody to do it. We need people in the machinery, messing with the little pieces and figuring out where the pieces go that count.

"In Oakland recently, we elected a brother to the Alameda County Board of Supervisors.



This is a simple structure but suffice it to say that five supervisors run a program that handles millions upon millions of dollars. They handle the county jail system, the welfare system, the public school system and so forth. There's only five of them and I can assure you that the average Black person in Oakland does not know the name of one, and doesn't know anything about what they do. We don't even know what the machinery is that affects our very lives.

"So those of us that have consciousness and ability, one of the things we have to do is begin to identify the forms of oppression; go out and tell other people about them. People are not stupid. They just don't understand a lot of things. That's what the Party is trying to do, and that's all we've ever tried to do. We'll die trying to do that, and, as Che Guevara said, some other people will pick up the machine gun and somebody else will carry on. Some of you in this room will carry on and some of you will walk away, saying, 'Well, it was wonderful to listen to her, but, you know I've got to get back to what's real.'

"What's real is that we can work together, you and I and all those other people out there. It's important because we're really not enemies but friends and lovers. We have to begin to identify who the enemies are, seek them out and identify them to others — and build up our machinery so we can talk about the total liberation of Black people, the total liberation of all oppressed people, not only inside of this country, but throughout the entire world.

"That's what John and Bunchy were all about, and that's why they were killed. The only memorial that we can possibly have — if you felt anything at all, if you didn't, it doesn't matter because there are many, many other Johns and Bunchys — but if you felt anything, and you want to say something for John and Bunchy, say it with a moment of your time, participate in something — whether you like the Black Panther Party or some other party that's doing something to free the minds of our people — so that we can organize at some point and truly live together and truly live a human and decent existence.

"POWER TO THE PEOPLE."



Zimbabwean guerrilla.

MAJORITY RULE UNDERMINED

U.S. Relations With Rhodesia's Smith Regime Urged

(Washington, D.C.) — In the wake of the southern African frontline states' unanimous backing of Zimbabwe's (Rhodesia's) Patriotic Front, a "confidential" Senate staff study released last week recommends that the U.S. reinstate diplomatic relations with the Rhodesian White minority government.

In related news, the stalemated Geneva talks on establishing Black majority rule in Zimbabwe, scheduled to resume on January 17, have been postponed indefinitely.

The Senate staff report was circulated to members of the Foreign Relations Committee by its authors, Stephen Bryen and Michael Kraft. Bryen is a military affairs specialist for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and formerly served as a staff aide to Republican New Jersey Senator Clifford Case, the ranking minority member of the Committee. Kraft, a former journalist, is Case's foreign affairs adviser.

The Bryen-Kraft report's call for renewed American relations with the government of Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith is viewed by many as tantamount to a U.S. endorsement of continued White rule in the breakaway British colony. However, Bryen and Kraft maintain that a U.S. mission be sent to Salisbury, capital city of the White settler regime, in order to take a more active role in bringing about Black majority rule in the country, the *New York Times* re-reports.

The U.S. officially severed diplomatic ties with the Smith government in March, 1970, when the U.S. consulate in Salisbury was closed to show

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

Intercommunal News

ABU DAOUD: "I AM A PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARY, NOT A TERRORIST"

(Algiers, Algeria) - Palestinian guerrilla leader Abu Daoud, arrested and suddenly released by French authorities amid an international furor for alleged involvement in killing 11 Israeli athletes in the 1972 Munich Olympics, said last week that he would be willing to testify to his "innocence" before a West German court, but his safety must be guaranteed and arrangements must be made through the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

"I would go immediately," Daoud said at Al Fateh headquarters here in Algiers, where he was flown when a French court rejected Israeli and West German demands that the suspected Black September leader be held for extradition hearings.

"I am innocent and I think the charges against me are a fabrication invented by the Israelis and the Zionists," the guerrilla leader said.

He added, "I am the father of six children. I understand how fathers and children feel when their relatives are killed.

"I want to go to Germany. . . but first the German government must promise me that I will receive protection."

The day before, in a telephone interview with the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, Daoud said that though he considered himself marked for assassination — "Israeli agents have assassinated other Palestinian leaders" — he is ready "to die for my cause":

"The Israelis are looking to kill all the Palestinians. .I am Palestinian, a revolutionary Palestinian, not a terrorist. If they want to kill me, then they want to kill a revolutionary, not a terrorist."

Asked how he planned to live now that his face was known throughout the world, Daoud replied, "I am going to continue my style of life, a revolutionary against the Zionists and the discrimination inside our occupied territory. I am planning to take a small vacation here (in Algiers) and then I have to go back to resume fighting."

He expressed astonishment at the outcry, particularly in the United States, about his release, which occurred when the French court ruled that West Germany acted too slowly in forwarding its extradition request.

Saying that he had read the history of the American people, Daoud remarked, "I was very proud to know they were looking for freedom, not for them but for all the people in the world.

"But I am astonished now that I hear official Americans are very angry for a justice thing which happened in court. The French



ABU DAOUD at press conference after his release by French authorities.

court released me by a justice thing, and they were very angry. I'm not astonished to see the Israelis angry, but I am astonished that the people living in a land called a 'land of liberty' are angry for a justice thing."

(The French government has officially protested U.S. State Department criticism of its release of Daoud, saying it "constituted an inadmissible comment on the acts of French courts.")

Meanwhile, reports continue to circulate linking the mysterious "Carlos," the enigmatic political terrorist, to Daoud's release.

According to the most common speculation, French counterintelligence agents, the DST, acted on their own in arresting Daoud to embarrass the French government of President Giscard d'Estaing.

The DST, the story goes, has been brooding for the past 17

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

L.S.M. MEMBER OLE GJERSTAD TALKS ABOUT STRUGGLES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

"UNITY BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS A PRECIOUS THING"

Last weekend, THE BLACK PANTHER had the opportunity to interview Ole Gjerstad, a 29-year-old Norwegian and a longtime member of the Liberation Support Movement, concerning his extensive travels in the vanguard African countries of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Below is Part 1 of that interview.

PART 1

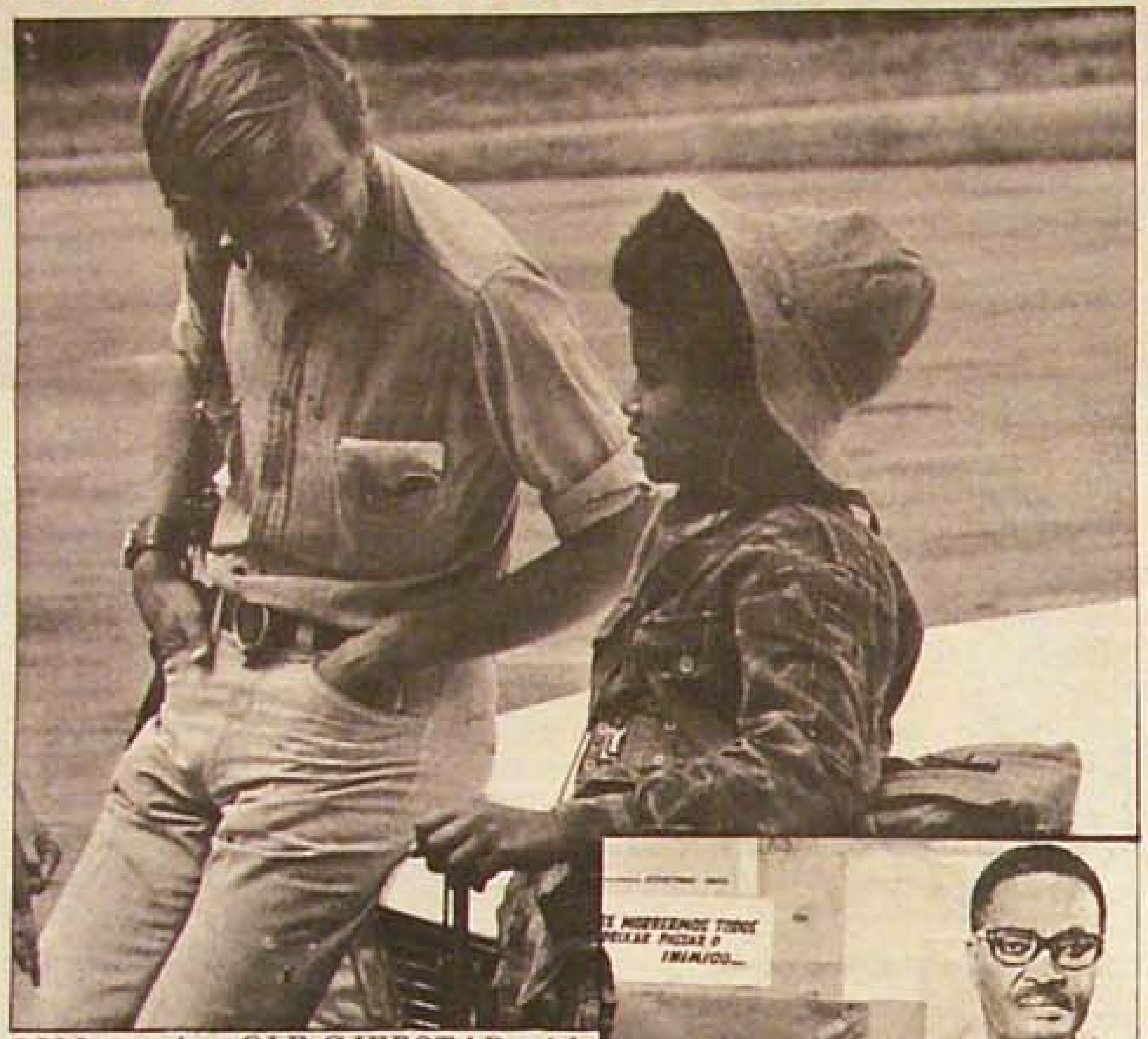
Q: You were in Angola in November of 1975 when the People's Republic of Angola was founded and immediately came under attack. What evidence did you see of the attack against the young People's Republic when you were there?

OLE: I arrived in Luanda, Angola, about a week before independence. The city was under siege from civilian troops, Portuguese mercenaries, and probably FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), but the FNLA forces were really few and very small. The forces that had Luanda under siege from the northern side were basically Zairean forces and Portuguese mercenaries from the ELP — the so-called Portuguese Liberation Army which was linked to Spinola and Portuguese fascists. From the middle of the town you could hear the artillery, it was really close. Then the MPLA army gradually started to liberate the country, with the very valuable assistance of Cuban volunteers.

Q: Were the Cuban volunteers there when you first arrived?

OLE: There were very few when I first arrived. They started to come in the month after independence in greater numbers. They (Cubans) provided a very valuable assistance in the actual fighting: they were the mechanics who could repair trucks; they had the medical personnel; they could train MPLA militants, as they did, not in camps sheltered behind the front, but right there in the front lines.

All the Cubans that I talked to in Angola were very open about the fact that they were there as volunteers; that they were pleased to be there; that their experiences in Cuba — having been suffering from the imperialist blockade, from terrorist attacks and invasions organized by the CIA and financed by the Americans — put them in a position very similar to that of the Angolans. Their view was that in struggling with Angolans they were not only helping the Angolans but were helping their own country as well.



LSM member OLE GJERSTAD with young Angolan freedom fighter.

The Cubans see this very much as part of the same struggle, as part of an international struggle against imperialism, and that when a country like Angola was attacked by imperialist forces, South Africans, Zaireans, international mercenaries, mostly financed by the USA, it was the duty of the Cubans to resist that and help the revolutionary forces.

Q: Was there any panic in Luanda as it was coming under siege?

OLE: The reaction to that was one of fury against the South African invasion, I would say, contempt for the invasion from the people in Luanda and then in the countrysides of northern and Central Angola which I visited later on. It was one of general contempt for South Africa, for the



mercenaries and one of determination.

I was very surprised how relaxed the atmosphere in Luanda was because earlier in the year FNLA had had troops in Luanda (they were Zairean troops), together with MPLA and UNITA (Union for the Total Liberation of Angola). There was still agreement between the three so-called liberation movements, and dur-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

Africa In Focus

Mozambique

Mozambican President Samora Machel re-emphasized his country's support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa at a reception for the diplomatic corps in Maputo, *Hsinhua* news agency reports. "Mozambique reiterates its determination to support the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) people in their just struggle against racialism and colonialism," President Machel said. On Namibia, the Mozambican leader stated his confidence that the Namibian people will win the armed liberation struggle against South Africa (Azania). Referring to the Azanian liberation struggle, he said that the awakening consciousness of the youth and other people of Azania can never be destroyed.

Azania

Over 100 refugees have died in squalid camps in South Africa housing an estimated 30,000 refugees who fled the Transkei when it became "independent" last October. Sources at the camps near Queenstown, 400 miles south of Johannesburg, said the refugees are members of the Ciskei tribe who left the Transkei after the government there removed some Ciskei chiefs from office. Malnutrition and measles, which can be fatal for people in weakened condition, were reported in the camps.

Great Britain

Thousands of British workers were scheduled to observe a week of "international solidarity" with Azanian Black workers, beginning January 16, in a worldwide workers' boycott called by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. A boycott of mail and telephone services with South Africa and similar boycotts by dockers, airline workers, truck drivers and seamen were planned.

Nigeria

The military government of Nigeria last week announced that it would take strong action to combat growing incidents of sea piracy in the harbors of Lagos, Port Harcourt and Calabar. Foreign freighters waiting for berths in the three major harbors are coming under increasing attack from pirates who hide in a maze of lagoons and attack in motorized dugout canoes, robbing the freighters of their valuable cargo.

"SCUM OF HUMAN SOCIETY" CONDEMNED AT HISTORIC TRIAL

"ANGOLA: END OF THE MYTH OF THE MERCENARIES"

Certainly one of the most politically significant and inspiring events in 1976 for oppressed and struggling Third World peoples was the historical trial of the 13 foreign mercenaries, "the scum of human society," by a special tribunal assembled by an independent and liberated People's Republic of Angola. Four Americans and nine Britons—including Costas Georgiou, the infamous "Maddog" Colonel Callan — were brought before the People's Revolutionary Court in Luanda, observed by an International Commission of Inquiry and, indeed, the eyes of the world.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of "Angola: End of the Myth of the Mercenaries," by Cuban correspondent Raul Valdes Vivo and reprinted from Tricontinental, *the organ of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), based in Havana, Cuba.*

PART 1

The trial of the mercenaries was of special interest because it isn't every day that a myth is tried and because this was the first time in the five centuries since the creation of this institution, that germinated in feudalism and flowered in imperialism, that sentence was being passed on it. As President Neto has said, this isn't a matter just of the future of 13 murderers, though their guilt be very great; rather, this is something that goes much deeper.

This is the first time in history that Africa has faced colonialism so defiantly, with Africans judging their former masters and a Black people making justice prevail in the house built on its own land, with its own hands, that has been a prison for it for centuries. . . .

A typical Portuguese colonial-style building — high walls, large windows, sumptuous marble facings in its inner staircases, thick stones, and lush green gardens (at the end of the 19th century, it appeared that Lisbon would never lose its goddess-like hold on the southern cone of Africa) — with a singularly appropriate name (Luanda House of Trade) is the site of the Court. But what miserable merchandise, this last lot brought to the seat of those who dealt in slaves in bygone eras and traded in diamonds and stolen wealth!



Angolan Revolutionary People's Tribunal (above) listens closely as witness points to mercenary defendants, the perpetrators of numerous atrocities.

Still another sensational aspect: the trial is the epilogue to a battle that put an exclamation mark to a war that was already nearly won.

When the North was practically all freed and preparations were already under way for freeing the southern part of Angola, the mercenaries appeared in the northern zone in order to prevent or at least delay the final victory, and the revolutionary leadership issued a clear, precise order concerning them: "Grind them into dust."

The order was carried out.

Now, the People's Revolutionary Court, headed by Ernesto Texeira da Silva, its presiding judge, has swept away this dust

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

500,000 SWINE SLAUGHTERED

C.I.A. Operatives Poisoned Cuban Pigs With African Virus

(New York, N.Y.) - With the aid of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Cuban anti-Castro operatives introduced an African swine fever virus into Cuba in 1971, forcing the eventual slaughter of 500,000 pigs to prevent a nationwide animal epidemic, *Newsday* reported last week.

As a result of numerous interviews over a four-month period with U.S. intelligence sources, Cuban exiles and scientists, *Newsday* was able to clear up the mystery of the 1971 pig epidemic, the first and only time the disease has struck in the Western Hemisphere. All production of pork, a Cuban staple, was halted for several months.

The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (UN-FAO) described the outbreak as the "most alarming event" of 1971. African swine fever is a highly contagious and usually fatal viral disease that infects only pigs.

INTELLIGENCE SOURCE

According to *Newsday*, a U.S. intelligence source revealed last week that he was given the virus in a sealed, unmarked container in early 1971, at a U.S. Army base and CIA training ground in the Panama Canal Zone, with instructions to turn it over to the anti-Castro group. The container was then given to a person in the Canal Zone who took it by boat and turned it over to persons aboard a fishing trawler off the Panamanian coast.

A Cuban exile, who asked not to be identified, said that he was on the trawler when the virus was brought aboard at a rendezvous point off Bocas del Toro, Panama. He said the fishing ship took the virus to Navassa Island, a tiny, deserted, American-owned island between Jamaica and Haiti. Then, the Cuban exile said, the African swine fever virus was taken to Cuba and given to other CIA operatives on the southern coast near the U.S. Navy base at Guantanamo Bay in late March, 1971.

The anti-Castro Cuban, who was trained by the CIA and had carried out previous missions for the agency, said that while he saw no CIA officials aboard the vessel that delivered the virus to the fishing trawler, "We were well paid for this and Cuban exile groups don't have that kind of money..."

Judicial "Prejudice" In Fred Hampton Murder Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

whether instinctual or conspiratorial, has been the basic motivation of his massive prejudice against plaintiffs in this case; and particularly against appellant (Taylor), who is by far the best-versed of anyone in the case in the factual details of the evidence..."

The motion then goes on to cite some 50 instances since January, 1976, when the trial began, in which Perry has "yelled and screamed at counsel, threatened them, insulted them and punished them for pursuing points in which they were right and the Court was wrong," and "episodes where the Court arbitrarily and unjustly refuses to hear from plaintiffs' counsel, sends the jury out or brings them in in the middle of an argument or outburst..."

Among the examples cited from court transcripts of Perry's bizarre and illegal actions are the following:

•April 21 — Perry told Taylor and plaintiffs' attorney Jeffrey Hass "in front of the jury that they should 'act like lawyers.' He later apologized lamely for this slander..." the motion states;

•June 2 — Perry threatened plaintiffs' counsel, saying, "You'll pay for this";

•August 10—". . .Perry ran off the bench in the middle of proof about the grand jury cover-up";



FRED HAMPTON leading community meeting before his assassination.

•September 22 — "The Court explodes and tells counsel to sit down, tells the jury the only reason counsel are objecting is because they don't like the testimony";

•November 16 — Perry allowed the jury to hear him "...berating counsel";

•November 18 — The judge arbitrarily refused to allow Taylor to address the court;

•December 13 — In a blatantly illegal move, Perry ordered the court reporter to stop taking minutes during plaintiffs' voir dire (statement given by witness or juror as to his or her competence) of defendant William O'Neal;

Additional parts of the trial transcript "which reflect instances where the court disparaged or misrepresented or attempted to undercut or neutralize plaintiffs' evidence,..." include:

•April 9 — "After FBI concealment of more than 50,000 pages of relevant documents had come to light, the Court says that few if any are relevant or favorable to plaintiffs' case...even though... these documents...form the bedrock of plaintiffs' case in the record of FBI involvement in the conspiracy";

•April 28 — Perry angrily rejected a question asked of an FBI defendant being cross-examined on the witness stand as "insulting";

•June 2 — "Perry told counsel to 'shut up' while he tried to ask the witness a question and later tells the jury counsel's questions have no foundation in the evidence." □

World Scope

England

Approximately 1,300 people rallied in Hyde Park here recently and marched to the British Home Office to protest the proposed deportation of two Americans accused of exposing intelligence activities. Philip Agee, who resigned from the U.S. CIA and wrote a critical book exposing its illegal operations, told the demonstrators he would continue his work "no matter what happens with me."

Israel

A die-hard clique of Israeli right wingers has put out a $150,000 "contract" out to "hit" Secretary of State Kissinger, according to high State Department officials, the New York *Daily News* reports. The nature of the threat against Kissinger was disclosed after President Ford asked Congressional leaders last week to help work out a way for Kissinger to keep his Secret Sevice protection after he leaves ofice next year.

Vietnam

In an effort to attract needed funds, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will permit 100 per cent foreign-owned investments in the South, according to foreign businessmen who have talked to Hanoi officials. The businessmen say industries bringing in equipment and technology and producing for export will receive favorable conditions. The Vietnamese hope to use the foreign exchange to buy equipment for industrial and agricultural development.

Haiti

Amnesty International (AI) recently called on Haitian President Jean Claude Duvalier to prove that his government had freed all the 90 political prisoners said to be released in a special Christmas pardon and asked him to present the prisoners to the world at a press conference. AI reports the arrest of at least 100 more people in the Port au Prince area over the past few months saying, "Such arrests...are virtually kidnappings."



Assassination

You know I heard the people say
What will you give in your way
I saw them turn, stop
And listen to the people cry
And say, just a life
Is all I got.

In a parade
Of centuries
People cried out,
And said please, please
We want freedom,
Liberation
And just some help in this
Civilization.

You know I heard the people say
What will you give in your way
I saw them turn, stop
And listen to the people cry
And say, just a life
Is all I got.

What did they do.
What did they say.
To justify
Speaking this way
They just fought
And often cried
And then they turned around
Were shot down
And died.

You know I heard the people say
What will you give in your way
I saw them turn, stop
And listen to the people cry
And say, just a life
Is all I got.

Bunchy and John
Walked through this maze
They touched a million lives
In a thousand ways.
Three-score and ten
Never knew them
Twenty-six and twenty-three
Is all they were
Oh can't you see.

And didn't you hear the people say
What will you give in your way
I saw them turn, stop
And listen to the people cry
And say, just a life
Is all I got.

(Poem written by Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown)

BLACKS BOYCOTT PRO-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN MUSICAL

(New York, N.Y.) - A pro-apartheid "Black" musical has made its way to the Broadway stage.

In the guise of celebrating Black African culture, *Ipi-Tombi* — now in New York direct from successful engagements in Johannesburg, Tel Aviv and London — is an elaborate justification of the South African regime's bantustan policy. It perpetuates virtually every slander and stereotype ever directed against Black people.

Black cultural and anti-apartheid groups have been demonstrating outside the Harkness Theater ever since the play's pre-opening "previews" began December 28, the *Guardian* reports.

Organized by the Emergency Committee to Protest the South African Production of *Ipi Tombi*, the protesters blast the show for its exploitation of Black African artists and culture, as well as its false portrayal of what life for Black people is like under apartheid.

The Emergency Committee was established after members of the cast of the London production of *Ipi Tombi* wrote Marcia Ann Gillespie, editor of *Essence* magazine here in the United States.

In their letter, the cast members complained that they were outrageously underpaid — the equivalent of only fourteen dollars a week. They also protested the profiteering on the musical material in the show by Bertha Egnos, a South African White who is credited in press releases as having "conceived" the show and "composed the music."



Protesters picket New York production of the misleading, racist South African musical Ipi Tombi.



What Egnos did, the cast members explained, was bring together "various dancing groups and asked them to perform their native dances and songs. Thereafter, to everyone's surprise, she claimed and copyrighted all songs and dances under her name. They really don't belong to her, but to the Black people of South Africa. She did that successfully because the Black people have no say in South Africa."

Members of the London cast were fired.

The overriding theme of the musical is the racist characterization of Blacks as always happy, always ready to celebrate. To perpetrate this myth, White South African playwright Bertha Egnos must thoroughly bastardize the music and dance of Black Culture. The White supremacist message is bolstered by exploitative views of Black religion, imperialist portrayals of primitive tribalism and base sexism. A cast of 25 Black South Africans is used to present this message.

The playbills and omnipresent advertisements for the production exclaim, "Happiness is an African musical." Yes, the writer occasionally admits, the life of a South African Black is sometimes difficult. But song and dance carry the happy-go-lucky Blacks through the hard times. The spectacular use of colorful costumes further buoys the "upbeat" characterization of Black life. □

"Angola: End Of The Myth Of The Mercenaries"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

of death and shame from Angolan soil, and the International Commission has met to loose the winds to cleanse the Earth and History.

Callan, Gearhart, McKenzie and Barker were first presented in the dock and then in front of the firing squad, but, in fact, their names were imperialism, neofascism, neocolonialism, and racism — in short, capitalism. It was the political and moral execution of a system, a sign of its inevitable decline.

Nine other mercenaries were sentenced to long prison terms, because Angola is a country of justice, even though vengeance would have been perfectly legitimate. By handing down different sentences, assigning the heaviest penalties to the most guilty and being generous with the youngest, "least dangerous" mercenaries, the Angolan Revolution has shown its self respect and increased even more the respect with which it is held throughout the world — respect merited both by the greatness it has demonstrated and by the hope it engenders.

The People's Revolutionary Court and the International Commission, two very distinct bodies, have complemented each other admirably.



Before the trial of the 13 foreign mercenaries began in Angola, hundreds of thousands demanded the death penalty (sign reads "Death to the Mercenaries.").

"SEVERE BUT SERENE JUSTICE"

The Court represents the law of a sovereign, independent, free, and single people with the judicial power and faculty analyze the crimes committed against its flag, its national anthem, and its State within its national territory and to dispense "severe but serene justice," as Minister Boavida put it.

The members of the International Commission, eminent jurists from 37 countries, went to Luanda to learn how the group of mercenaries was going to be tried. There, they confirmed that if the Court went too far in anything, it was in the guarantees it extended to the accused.

"The Revolutionary Leadership Issued A Clear, Precise Order Regarding Them: 'Grind Them Into Dust.' The Order Was Carried Out"

Mirroring and summarizing the work of the Court is the exemplary sentence which concludes, with the utmost dignity, this process, whose objective was, as President Neto has said, that of placing before the eyes of all Africa and the whole world the problem of mercenarism.

The work of the International Commission is summarized in its General Declaration, which calls for an end to mercenarism, and in the Draft Convention, which describes this evil on a worldwide scale as a crime. Both documents draw their inspiration from the natural repudiation of all the peoples for the work of killers for hire; from their legitimate right and duty to eradicate this practice; and from the principles of condemnation of mercenarism adopted by the UN, the OAU, and other international bodies.

The Declaration warns that there is no time to be lost, because new Callans are already taking up weapons in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The Luanda Convention (named in honor of the country in which the myth of the paid monsters was shattered) not only shows the way toward the universal legislation that is required in order to intimidate both the promoters of and the instruments in the business of killing, but also should encourage national legislation against mercenaries in all States that aspire to civilization, peace, and the prevalence of law and justice in international relations.

People's Prosecutor Rui Alves Monteiro has said that, aside from its value in combating mercenarism, the Angolan trial — comparable in nature to the Nuremberg trial of the fascist ringleaders — has shown just who is who at this time in which mankind is approaching a new century and entering a new stage of social development.

"If he had wqn, my brother would have been a hero," Callan's sister told English journalists. She was able to visit him in prison after sentence was passed and, as she also said, comfort him and give him courage with which to face his punishment. Saying only, "A sister is a sister," she didn't set herself up either to judge or to defend him, but it is revealing that she blamed those who armed Callan and gave him the opportunity to become a killing machine that any society would have to destroy — especially one that had just obtained its freedom and still had to confront powerful enemy forces.

This time, the heroes have been those who belong to this era: the peasants, who don't even know Portuguese; the barefoot teachers who taught the people in dusty little hamlets hacked out of the jungle; the women, who, each with one child tied on her back and another in her womb, saw their brothers and husbands hauled off to forced labor and the war.

These contemporary heroes served as witnesses for the prosecution, appearing before the judges who came from the heart of the same people and, at the cost of enormous sacrifices, went to study in colonialism's universities — and sometimes in the harder and more instructive universities of prison and the guerrilla struggle — and before Angolan lawyers who donned a toga in order to defend, with all their might, those who were their enemies.

And this collective hero — witness, prosecutor and judge in the Luanda trial — was the people of Angola.

TO BE CONTINUED

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Puerto Rico

Bowing to massive pressure from the Puerto Rican people and pro-independence parties — led by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party — Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo announced last week that he had reached an agreement with the White House to delay consideration of the Puerto Rican statehood issue until after 1980. During the present four-year period of 1976-1980, Romero said he will undertake an "educational" and promotional campaign to convince Puerto Ricans of the benefits of statehood.

Latin America

The strategy of "Seguridad Nacional" (national security) as a method for dealing with "emergency situations" by Latin American military dictatorships has resulted in the imprisonment, torture and killing of thousands of Latin Americans, reports *Pacific News Service.*

In Argentina last year, 1,400 leftists were killed, with over 20,000 political prisoners believed held in Argentine jails. In Chile, sources estimate 100,000 citizens have been jailed since the 1973 military coup and thousands have "disappeared." One out of every 60 Uruguayans has been in a prison or detention center, usually for political reasons last spring. Some prisoners have been held without charge for as long as 18 years. In Bolivia and Brazil, torture of political prisoners is common and widely documented.

Cuba

The Canadian government last week ordered the expulsion of five Cubans, including three members of the Cuban diplomatic and consular staff, for allegedly recruiting and training undercover agents to go to southern Africa. The Cuban Foreign Ministry issued a statement in response to the charges saying that its relations with "third parties" had been designed to prevent a Western-backed faction, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), from operating against Cubans in Angola and from subverting the Angolan government.

SPORTS

Martial Arts

Breathing

Breathing is a necessary process in all living things. As such, it has too often been overlooked, misunderstood and seldom correctly evaluated, even by so-called coaches, physical therapists, doctors and a host of others. Breathing is a science, a disciplined movement of body parts during stress/strain situations or during relatively carefree and relaxed situations.

The "science of breathing," like many other things, has its internal side and its external side, so to speak. The physiological side, that which deals primarily with muscle, nerve and bone movements, may be labeled the external or exoteric phase of breathing, and that aspect which concentrates on and accents the philosophical and meditative side of breathing may be labeled the esoteric aspect.

There are many names for the forces derived through breathing. In Chinese it's called ch'i; in Japanese it's called ki; in Sanskrit, "prana," Ch'i, Ki or Prana. These are all terms, labels, to describe basic laws regarding breathing rhythms, exercises and meditations that through conscious effort, actually "tap" and release stored physical efforts and enable the "normal" to become or appear to be "super-normal."

The principle and effect is in all forms of matter, yet it is not matter. Simply breathing, through concentrated efforts, can and does affect areas of the body in pain, exhausted, underdeveloped and so forth.

Western scientists cannot explain how a 120 pound man cannot be budged by two or more 200 pound men in a pushing match where the only thing utilized is the ability to position oneself and to establish a rhythmic breathing pattern. Not that Western science can't explain these phenomena, but Western scientists and technologists simply refuse to accept the simplicity of the fact that mind and body together with their own faculties can accomplish feats that medicine, biology, physiology and other European/American oriented methods of thought will not consider.

ON THE ROAD TO THE NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP

U.S.F. BASKETBALL TEAM FLYING HIGH

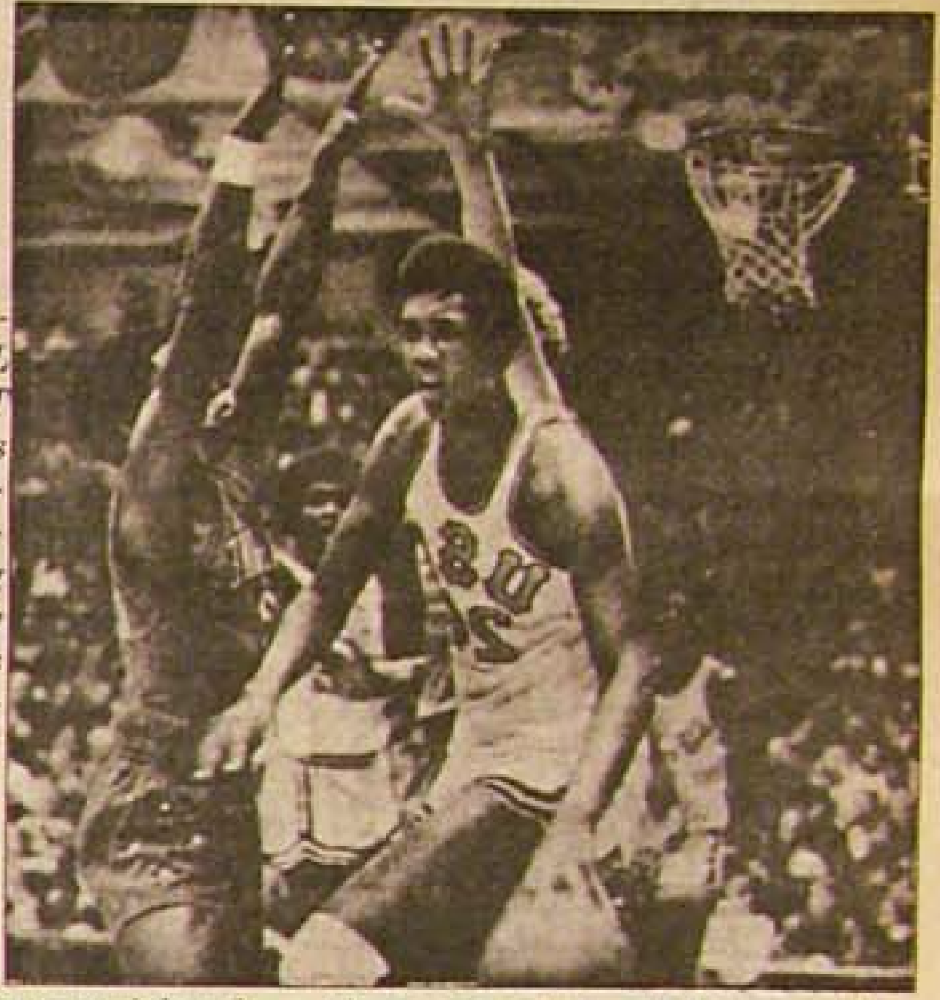
(San Francisco, Calif.) — The number-one ranked Dons of the University of San Francisco (USF) destroyed defending WCAC (West Coast Athletic Conference) champion Pepperdine 107-72, last Friday and then leveled Loyola 90-63 on Saturday to run their unparalleled record to 19-0.

Led by seven-foot sophomore center Bill Cartwright's 24 points and 18 rebounds, the young, powerful Dons controlled the Pepperdine game from start to finish as they continued on their drive to a national championship. Also providing a helpful hand were Marlon Redmond (20 points, nine rebounds) and James Hardy (16 points, 11 rebounds).

Pepperdine coach Gary Colson commented, "In 20 years of basketball games, I have never felt so helpless. It was like playing the Boston Celtics..." "That's the number one team in the country," he said, speaking of the Dons.

"They (Dons) took their lumps by playing three freshmen last year (Cartwright, Hardy and Winfred Boynes and Bob (Gaillard) took a lot of heat for it. But what a bonus he's going to have for three years!"

USF's hip, young coach Bob Gaillard is sitting on top of the world right now directing the talent-laden Dons to victory after victory. Gaillard known for his easy-going coaching attitude and ability to communicate with young Black ballplayers, explains, "My obligation is to make the guys reach their potential and have fun...I think we're playing up to our potential now (after the Pepperdine game), but that potential will just grow with normal maturity."



USF's sophomore center, BILL CARTWRIGHT (in white) dazzles Pepperdine opponent in recent victory. The young team, coached by Bob Gaillard, is sporting a spotless 19-0 record.

"I really feel like I have the ability to project myself into an 18-year-old's head better than any of my contemporaries," says Gaillard (who personally recruited Cartwright, Hardy and Boynes). "I was the only White kid on the block at my playground.

"A majority of Black players don't have the parental hang-ups," says Gaillard," like White players do. White dads relive their failures thrugh their sons. With Black players, many times, their dads aren't around."

Gaillard is angered by racist criticism resulting from his decision to start five Black players (there are only two Whites on the team). "The basic fan," he says," is prejudiced. Every bad pass is linked in their minds to a lack of intelligence."

Playmaking guard Chubby Cox comments that Gaillard's coaching principles (among them no curfews) "allows us to be our own men. When given the opportunity to be your own man, you have more go, more self-pride. No one takes advantage of it."

Said Boynes, who came close to signing with Denny Crum of Louisville: "I couldn't give five to coach Crum. I could to coach Gaillard."

The Dons, currently on a 19-game winning streak, disappointed many fans with their 22-8 season last year. Coupled with this were persistent rumors that team morale was low.

Star forward Hardy, who, for personal reasons sat out the game with WCAC champs Pepperdine last year, and who is called an "eccentric genius" by Gaillard, explains, "It seemed to me like we weren't playing as a team (last year). We were trying to prove things to ourselves and to one another. I felt I didn't have to prove anything. I wanted to sit and watch."

Uncertain about a professional basketball career, he expresses the problems of being presented with a lucrative pro contract at so young an age, "Money is a frightening thing...There's no telling what I'll do. You know, at home in Alabama, after my mother died, I lived with my grandmother, and we had cotton fields, corn fields and chickens. I had dogs and a treehouse. I like it better there — to have the freedom to sleep in a treehouse."

Who Rules Chicago?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

destruction of neighborhoods than by any other single activity in the city. Billions have been spent in building expressways to bring the middle class to the loop and back, in the construction of high rise middle and upper-income apartment buildings and office buildings, and in the purchase of neighborhood land and the demolition of low-income housing. Only the smallest fraction of the city budget has gone into basic social services or the attempt to bring employment opportunities into Chicago. The "masterplan" was to drive poor and working people from the city, to "Whiten" the inner city, and bring the middle class back in.

The political machine's policies of ignoring and evacuating the Black, Latino and poor White communities, along with the internal corruption and racism of the machine created massive dissatisfaction among the voters that has appeared whenever there has been some alternative to the machine presented. In effect, the ingenious political structure which the majority of Chicagoans had been put into through the lure of jobs and favors was being used directly against them by the downtown financial interests that really control that machinery: and it was beginning to become obvious.

When Daley died the people of Chicago had the opportunity to watch the city council on television going through the motions of selecting the new acting mayor although there was really no power struggle that could take place. Power had been determined by the ability to get votes and on that basis to give out jobs. When most of the meetings had taken place, when most of the press conferences were over, when the community had clearly stated its preference for Wilson Frost to become acting mayor, Daley's chief lackey in charge of patronage, Tommy Donovan, brought all the parties together and worked out the deal.

Of course, the people have the power. For 22 years and really much longer, the power of the people has been imprisoned in the Daley machine political system. For the people of Chicago to rule the city for our own benefit we must develop a new political structure, beginning at the precinct level, and organize our power to take control of the city, step by step. What makes this possible now is not Daley's death. It is the question of our own survival as our power rests organized in the hands of a political structure that is being used to destroy us.

(See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for details of a Tuesday press conference held by the Intercommunal Survival Committee blasting the city of Chicago's "economic development" program — a plan designed to heighten the attack on Black and other poor inner-city residents.) □



Scene from a People's Festival sponsored by the Chicago Intercommunal Survival Committee.

Carter Cabinet Picks Expose Themselves

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

members of the Committee of asking Bell "gently leading questions" to make him look good.

The well respected Black lobbyist also produced a memorandum, dated July 9, 1959, when Bell was chief of staff for arch-segregationist Georgia Governor Ernest Vandiver, which discusses ways to circumvent Supreme Court school desegration rulings.

POSITION

(Bell's own position is that, in matters of civil rights, he tried to act as "a force for moderation.")

Parren Mitchell, of Maryland chairman of the CBC and brother of the NAACP lobbyist, said Bell's avowed intention to retain his membership in several all-White clubs is indicative of a life-long failure to stand up for minority rights.

He said Bell was "the mastermind of Georgia's massive resistance" to school desegregation.

Georgia state senator Julian Bond, whom Bell ruled against in a legal challenge to the state house of representatives in 1966 because of his outspoken opposition to the Vietnam War, told reporters, "I just kept thinking about what Governor Carter said about 'why not the best.' Judge Bell is not the best...No, I don't think he's a bigot. He's a turkey."

ADA Vice President Joseph Rauh told the Judiciary Committee that, "Judge Bell has shown a lack of sensitivity to the rights of Blacks, other minorities and women.

"For at least 14 years, from 1958 to 1972, as a lawyer and as a judge, Mr. Bell gave aid and comfort to the segregationists of this country."

Several other Bell opponents mentioned the attorney general-designate's 1970 backing of Harrold Carswell for the U.S. Supreme Court "even though the latter's views on White supremacy were a matter of public awareness."

Despite the obvious evidence of Bell's racism, President-elect Carter continues to give his man full support. And, again, despite the obviously organized Black resentment to the Bell nomination, SCLC leader Ralph Abernathy, CORE Executive Director Roy Innis—whom Bond called "an apologist for segregated schools" — and U.N. Ambassador-designate Andy Young, have all urged his appointment.

Meanwhile, concerning Carter's economic package, prospective Labor Secretary Marshall said there is "very little rationale" for tax cuts to reduce unemployment. He cited statistics to show that it takes over $20,000 in tax cuts but only $5,000 in direct expenditures to produce a job, and suggested that another one to two billion dollars be allocated for job-creating public works projects. □

Davis, "Lone Ranger"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

The dangers inherent in a potential Ed Davis candidacy are legion. Since he has no qualifications for the job whatsoever, he will have to establish a base of credibility among large numbers of voters. It is obvious that he intends to utilize his position as L.A. chief of police and his verbal abilities to frighten Californians into believing that our state is besieged by a giant crime wave that only he can suppress. Nixon used the Red scare for the same purposes during the 1940s and '50s; Reagan and Hayakawa catapulted themselves to national prominence a decade later by exploiting the specter of "campus revolution."

Davis has already begun his parries and thrusts, by making a mini-career out of denigrating Governor Brown's policies on crime. Brown's historical opposi-



LAPD fanatic ED DAVIS.

tion to the death penalty and his sponsorship of the progressive law ending indeterminate sentencing in California are cast by Davis as being soft on crime.

Even more bizarre is Police Chief Davis's characterization of the politics and crime problem in San Francisco. To achieve his political purposes, Davis has spotlighted Mayor George Moscone, Police Chief Charles Gain, District Attorney Joe Freitas, and Sheriff Richard Hongisto as being tolerant of sex and dope, thereby proving his contention that San Francisco is suffering from a crime wave. The remedy? Elect me, Davis, governor.

We must never forget the examples of Nixon, Murphy, Reagan, and Hayakawa, which show that such flippant, opportunistic politics has an enormous effect on the voting public. If Davis does not even win the primary election, the paranoia unleashed by his candidacy could do great damage in California.

Ed Davis should be universally denounced as a big mouth, and his candidacy for governor should be aborted before it has a chance to breed more evil. □

Boston Crisis

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

recreation houses, several fire stations, one of the city's two chronic disease hospitals and the Little City Halls.

The cutbacks also affect a wide range of organizations providing affirmative action programs. The victims include the Third World Workers Jobs Clearinghouse, the South End Project Area Committee and Urban Planning Aids of Cambridge.

In addition, state senate president Kevin Harrington has disclosed that he will support a bill to take away collective bargaining rights for 240,000 state, county and municipal employees.

Last month, The Alliance, a coalition of unions representing 42,000 state workers, won its first collective bargaining contract from the state. It took seven months of negotiation and a three-day "illegal" strike.

BIG BANKS

It is obvious that the big banks are calling the shots in Boston these days. Their immediate leverage is that the city must borrow $30-$50 million in the next two weeks to cover operating expenses.

Last month, Richard Hill, chairman of the First National Bank of Boston, noted that his bank was under no obligation to shell out the funds if there was a risk the city would be unable to repay.

The remaining three of Boston's big four banks — the First Shawmut, New England Merchants and State Street — have not commented publicly on the fate of the city loan request. However, leaders of the big banks have conducted a series of secret meetings with city and state politicians.

City officials are fully aware of the power of the big banks. "Our cash flow is in the hands of a few bankers," said one high city official recently. "The timing is in a few board rooms."

The banks' power to shut off the money supply and throw the city into bankruptcy is only one source of the city's fiscal woes. The other is the reaction of big businesses to attempts by the government to raise new revenues: they threaten to leave the state.

Last September, Mayor White announced the largest property tax hike in Boston history. He also proposed a one per cent tax on employers' payrolls. The reaction of Harold Hestnes, chairman of MTF, is typical, "It's very easy to get to the other side of the Charles River (outside Boston)," he said. □

Letters to the Editor

HELP DARVIN BROWN

To the Editor,

I am the mother of Darvin Lance Brown, my only child. After having 13 miscarriages and one child to die, thank God for Darwin.

I am now in poor health. I need surgery and I am at this time considered a poor risk. Therefore, one of the most important things in my life is the fight for Darwin's freedom, which means others' freedom also.

I believe if Darwin was out of prison I could overcome any type of operation, with God's help too.

Now I say my son Darwin Lance Brown has begged and we have truly tried to get the courts, press, some radio and TV stations along with Diggs, Rev. Nichols Hood, Jet and Ebony magazine, the Detroit News, Free Press and Michigan Chronicle to help us. There are so many others we've tried to get interested.

Another mistake will be if the people don't get up off their haunches and stop the political robots from putting the death penalty back. As you can tell from the two Whites begging for death and the U.S. Court refusing to do so. That should prove it to all Black people innocent or not. The chair, rope, gas, firing squad, life, natural life, behavior modification and all other cruel and unusual punishment, excessive bail required as well as excessive fines imposed are strictly for Blacks.

Darwin never went before a jury of his peers either, he never had a witness called for him. We the family, never had contact with the courts so therefore we've had to learn the hard way. I hope you print the story just as it is.

Mrs. Brown
Detroit, Michigan

QUESTION LEGALITY OF RETIREMENT SYSTEM

To the Editor,

This letter is questioning the constitutional legality of retirement vesting for all the working people of our nation.

As a teacher—rehabilitation civil servant for N.Y.S. for nine years—I now find myself most handicapped in the search for employment. I must find re-employment in civil service or teaching (both of which are reducing their staff) or lose all my earned retirement benefits. New York State requires ten years service for retirement vesting.

This problem, or one similar is one being faced or will be faced by many of the working public in our state and nation. Should big business and the government have the right to handicap the personal-employment mobility of its working people by using the loss of the security of retirement income as the penance for freedom?

With social security now on the fringe of bankruptcy it would seem that additional public funds could be brought to its advantage by offering the principle of I.R.A. (individual retirement account) to the hands of the down trodden social security system. The complexity of state and federal fiscal union for the betterment of the public is beyond my understanding, but is at this time a question that should or must be answered by our nation's politicians who call themselves public servants.

I must humbly request aid and information in search for the answer to this perplexing problem faced not only by this writer, but by the thousands of unemployed people now in the future of this blessed nation.

Yours respectfully,
Frederick J. Johnson
Schenectady, New York

APPRECIATE FREE GROCERIES

Dear Brothers, Sisters and Comrades,

I have just finish reading my December 25 copy of THE BLACK PANTHER, and I would like to give my most in appreciation to the Black Panther Party for the free groceries, toys and Christmas trees that were distributed to the people.

I am a strong believer in the Black Panther Party. Must I say that it is also great to see the Oakland Community School making so much progress. Black-on to our black sister Elaine Brown for her keep-on-keepin'-on struggle for the party.

Comrade Ndugu Akbar Shabazz
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

KEEP THE STRENGTH

Dear Sir:

Just a few lines to express my sincere appreciation for continuing my subscription of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper and for being. And I want you to know that I am verily sorry for not being able to donate any type of contributions at this time due to my lack of financial funds. But I want you to know that I enjoy receiving and reading your paper; and I hope your new year of nineteen-hundred and seventy-seven (1977) will be a much stronger and accomplishable year for you and your staff and the many, many Black people who are incessantly seeking solidarity and a diligent way of life.

Well, keep the strength, and thank you for your time and that significant "BLACK PANTHER" quality—your quality.

Sincerely speaking,
Lester Plummer
Somer, Conn.

U.F.W.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

four union elections since the ARLB began operating again in early December, after an 11-month shutdown caused by conservative resistance to emergency funding.

Union leaders believe their all-out effort to win Proposition 14, involving thousands of new people, is already translating into stronger support in the fields. Once a worker has made the commitment of time and money necessary in an election battle, Chavez never tires of saying, "He has made the union his — or hers."

•The fact that the growers, in campaigning against Proposition 14, did not directly challenge the already existing law — just the UFW's attempt to make it immune to amendment.

"In order for the growers to win," says a UFW spokesman, "they had to tell people — opinion leaders, editorial boards — that 'we already have a law, it is a good law and it should not be changed.' If they attack the law now — which we expect — those statements will be turned back on them."

PROMISING NEGOTIATIONS

•Promising negotiations, disclosed December 22, between the UFW and their longtime opponents, the Teamsters.

Apparently worn down by the huge cost of organizing drives and legal battles and discouraged by the UFW's more than two-to-one edge over them in elections last year, the Teamsters are reportedly willing to leave all farmworkers to the UFW in return for exclusive rights to cannery workers and truckers.

•The competitive nature of California agriculture, which could limit the ability of growers to mount a unified campaign to amend the farm labor act. Growers who have already been unionized by June may be unwilling to back changes that could help their competitors escape unionization and thus undersell them.

The most important question mark for the UFW and the growers is the effect the Proposition 14 landslide has had on the state legislature.

In December, Republican state senator John Stull introduced a bill to do away with the "access rule," which now allows union organizers to enter ranches 120 days per year at specific times to talk with workers.

Both growers and union will be watching the legislative course of the Stull bill as a "litmus test" for later battles. □

U.S. Relations With Rhodesia Urged

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

opposition to White minority rule. Despite this diplomatic boycott, however, the U.S. has continued to trade with the Smith regime in violation of United Nations sanctions imposed against the country in late 1965.

Iowa Democratic Senator Dick Clark, chairman of the African subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, criticized the Bryen-Kraft report, insisting that the presence of a U.S. mission in Rhodesia would send "the wrong signal" to the Smith government and "would give him (Smith) some hope that he could hold out against Black majority rule."

America's ambiguous policy toward Rhodesia is exemplified in the report's statement that, "...while we have no quarrel with the principle of (U.S.) nonrecognition of the current Rhodesian government, it is impractical not have on-the-scene contact with the authorities...This mission could be in touch both with Rhodesian government officials and with Black nationalist officials..." the report said, adding that the mission "could test the political water" in Rhodesia and *"may be helpful in encouraging moderate influences among the Black nationalist leadership"* (emphasis ours).

FRONTLINE STATES

The frontline states — Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana — have given their unqualified support to the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, composed of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the vanguard Black revolutionary organization that is leading the armed struggle against the Smith regime, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). In so doing, the frontline states have acknowledged the political as well as the military leadership of the Patriotic Front in the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. The decision was also meant to give the Front increased bargaining power at the Geneva talks.

Smith said last week that the Geneva talks are "a dead duck" and that he expects the incoming Carter administration to give his regime full diplomatic support in its efforts to negotiate with Black sellouts in Zimbabwe. Rhodesian "Foreign Minister" Pieter K. van der Byl said that White Rhodesians would fight "to the last cartridge" rather than hand over the government to the Patriotic Front.

"Unity Is A Precious Thing"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

ing this time there were terrible massacres, the massacres of the general population and MPLA troops both.

There was only one liberation group, MPLA, that had worked clandestinely, mobilizing political support, filtering information into the city and filtering cadre out of the city to join the forces in the bush. This was during the Portuguese rule. This was very difficult and dangerous work. Many MPLA militants, some friends, comrades, who I know spent many years in Portuguese prisons, having been caught doing this clandestine work, they were transported to concentration camps. Many died under torture in the prison camps as well. But all this difficult work was done by MPLA.

FNLA, on the other hand, sent several factions of its armed militants from Zaire straight to Luanda to enforce a military occupation on the population. But you have to understand that they (FNLA) could not work among the people because a great core of FNLA militants were not even Angolans — they were Zaireans. Many of them were taken right out of the Zairean army, and put in what they called an "FNLA uniform." They couldn't speak Portuguese; they couldn't speak any Angolan language. They spoke a dialect of Zaire, so they couldn't even talk with the population.



Scenes from the People's Republic of Angola, recently liberated after hard-fought liberation war waged against CIA-backed reactionaries and Portugese colonialism.

The FNLA tactic of gaining control was simply to start attacking the mass work that was carried out by the MPLA. MPLA started to set up clinics; they started to set up People's Councils in the shantytowns of Luanda. The FNLA strategy was to scare people out of any involvement with the MPLA and to impose such bad control that at independence the rest of the basically Zairean forces, with the support of President Mobutu in Zaire, would be able to arrive in Luanda to take over the government.

This as we know did not work. FNLA was finally kicked out of Luanda in the month of July, 1975, after the regular war, and in this war the MPLA forces fought side by side with what they called People's Militias from the different shantytowns in Luanda. They were organized by people who sympathized with MPLA, hoisted the flag of the MPLA, fought with the MPLA, but, on the other hand, they were not accountable to the movement.

In Luanda you have a very strong element of lumpen, of petty bourgeoise, and they were not under MPLA control. They fought with MPLA against FNLA; they fought very valiantly and later on the majority of these elements were integrated into the MPLA army, fought under MPLA discipline, and MPLA control. This was not done without some conflict. Many of these elements were unwilling to subordinate themselves to the discipline. Many of them went to the army for glory, for other opportunist reasons, and those elememts were later sorted out and brought under control.

This was a very essential political task. The unitybetween the people and the liberation movement in the situation that MPLA faced was a very precious thing, facing an international, imperialist enemy in a very vulnerable military situation. The unity among the people with MPLA in Luanda, in particular, and the other areas I visited as well was very high, but it could have been easily jeopardized by elements out of control with weapons and in MPLA uniforms. It was very necessary when looting began on the part of certain elements who identified themselves with MPLA, to clamp down on this and tighten up on the discipline. This was done during the fight.

TO BE CONTINUED

"I Am A Palestinian Revolutionary..."

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

months since Carlos — the Venezuelan Illitch Ramirez-Sanchez — shot down two DST men when they came to his Left Bank apartment. His clean getaway, together with the fact that the slain agents were unarmed, thoroughly humiliated what had been previously thought of as a crack organization.

That, plus "hands-off" directives to stay away from suspected Arab revolutionaries — the DST links Daoud with Carlos in planning the seizure of OPEC foreign ministers in Vienna in 1975 — lead to Daoud's arrest.

Only a few hours before DST agents pounded on his door — this time they were armed — Daoud had been part of a PLO delegation which was formally received by the French foreign minister. Daoud was there under an assumed name — the delegation had come to Paris to attend the funeral of a Palestinian activist slain in his bookstore by unknown gunmen — but sources say his identity was well known.

Abu Daoud, said to be about 40, is reportedly one of the founders of Black September, the militant Palestinian group formed after the Palestinian movement was militarily forced out of Jordan in 1970.

ABORTIVE ATTEMPT

He was sentenced to death in 1973 after an abortive attempt to kidnap Jordanian King Hussein's parliamentary cabinet, but was released after massive Arab protests.

While Daoud was in prison, a Black September commando unit raided the Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, killing U.S. Ambassador Cleo Noel and the U.S. charges d'affaire. Also, the Saudi Arabian embassy in Paris was raided but with no fatalities.

Daoud also maintains that an Israeli secret agent was with the DST police at the time of his capture.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowlede of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY SO. CALIFORNIA CHAPTER RE-OPENS













